

The Parliamentary Register; Or, History Of The Proceedings And Debates Of The House Of Commons Containing An Account Of The most interesting Speeches and Motions; accurate Copies of the most remarkable Bills, Letters and Papers; of the most material Evidence, Petitions, &c. laid before and offered to the House, During the Second Session of the Bd.: 8.

London (1778)

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Register



Sam^l Petrie.

Parliamentary Register

1831-1832

DEBATES

HOUSE OF COMMONS

1831-1832

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF GREAT BRITAIN

VOL. VII

1831-1832

Printed by W. G. & Co. Stationers, Strand

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Register



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Parliamentary Register

1835

DEBATES

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN THE
FIRST SESSION OF THE
EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT
BRITAIN, UNDER THE
REGENT, GEORGE IV.

OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF GREAT BRITAIN

VOL. VIII

LONDON:
Printed by J. JOHNSON, opp. the BULLINGDOX-GATE,
in ST. MARTIN'S LANE.
1835.

T H E
Parliamentary Register;
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H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
O F T H E
HOUSE OF COMMONS;

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DURING THE
FOURTH SESSION of the FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

V O L. VIII.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
in PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXVIII.



THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED
DURING THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE
EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
IN THE YEAR 1825
BY
JAMES STOKES, ESQ.
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.
OF THE BARR

LONDON:
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in Piccadilly.
MDCCCXXV.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES
Of the FOURTH SESSION of the
H O U S E of C O M M O N S
O F T H E
Fourteenth Parliament of *Great-Britain* ;

*Appointed to be held at Westminster, on Thursday the 18th day of
November, 1777.*

AS soon as the Commons were returned from the Lords,
and the Speaker had read the King's speech,

Lord *Hyde* moved, That an humble address be presented to Lord *Hyde*.
his Majesty, &c. His Lordship prefaced his motion by a
panegyric on the prudence of government, the necessity of
the war, and the good conduct of our commanders, who,
notwithstanding some insinuations thrown out lately in the
public prints, deserved our utmost confidence, and amply
justified that hope which his Majesty as well as his Ministers
placed in their future exertions. He said, that the *ense reci-*
dendum was not adopted until the views and actions of the
Americans called loudly for the measure, and that he doubted
not but the prudence of government would seize every op-
portunity to put a stop to the effusion of blood, when the
honour, the dignity, or the interest of the nation would ad-
mit of such a desirable effort.

Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, in seconding the motion, observed, that Sir *Gilbe*
though he had not the honour of a seat in the House when *Elliot*.
the grand objects of the present unhappy war were under the
discussion of Parliament, yet he was well aware that they
had been already viewed on both sides of the House in every
light wherein they were capable of being seen. And, in-
deed,

deed, if they had not, it was perhaps now unnecessary to discuss them. The question was not now whether America was originally right or wrong; but whether she should or should not remain independent. And taking the case of the colonies as it now stands, he was astonished that any man, born and educated in Britain, could stand up in that House to express a sentiment contrary to the spirit of the measures adopted by government, and conveyed to us in the language of his Majesty's most gracious speech. He took occasion to introduce an observation on the present state of our trade and commerce; averring, that so far from being diminished by the present contest, as might reasonably be feared, they were rather increased within the last twelve months. He heard nothing of our artisans being unemployed in any branch of trade in the kingdom; and, bating a little increase of luxury, which, upon the whole, was rather a thriving symptom, he believed the nation was in as flourishing a condition as at any period in his memory. He, in explicit terms, stigmatized those who were of an opposite opinion, as a set of people pervaded with the spirit of faction.

Marquis of
Granby.

The Marquis of *Granby* lamented the consequences which must fall upon this nation as well as upon the Americans, from so unnatural a war. He seemed to take an equal interest in the calamities it must bring upon both, and expressed the most ardent wish of employing the present moment to lay at least the ground-work of an accommodation. The powers of Great Britain had been exerted, during three successive campaigns, to obtain peace with that continent by the point of the sword; and flattering himself that the present moment of uncertainty, with respect to the success of our arms, was a most proper time for attempting to effect it by a measure of cordiality, he begged leave to read an amendment which he should move to be inserted in the address then pending before the House. The substance of this amendment was, "to advise his Majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America by treaty; and for the better effectuating so desirable a purpose, to agree to a cessation of all hostilities; at the same time to assure his Majesty of the determination of his Commons to co-operate with him in every measure that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

Lord *John Cavendish* seconded the motion for the amendment; pointed out the inconsistency of those sentiments of humanity in the King's speech, which the measures of administration so openly contradicted. He said, that, for an ideal revenue of five or six hundred thousand pounds, fifteen millions had been already expended; that great professions had been made from the throne two years back, of what was to be done; but, instead of finding them fulfilled, he perceived that *fallere et effugere est triumphus* with the ministry; for that last summer our coasts swarmed with the American privateers; and how much their force was dreaded by government, he could prove, being himself an eye-witness of the fortification of Dublin harbour, which had never been deemed necessary before, even in a war with our natural and most inveterate enemies:—that so far from our succeeding, every campaign, in his opinion the present measures served only to lead to an eternity of war; that he could have no delight in the intelligence of the success of either force, as it must naturally be destructive of the dearest interests of this country. His Lordship said, he had no objection to the congratulatory compliments to his Majesty contained in the address, but wished heartily for the proposed amendment, thinking it the only step that could lead to the wished-for reconciliation. He did this, he said, with the greater readiness, as he trusted it would be universally allowed that the proposition came from the purest and most liberal motives; and as the young nobleman by whom it was offered was so circumstanced in point of fortune, family, and dignity, that it was impossible for any cause to affect the state in general, without having a similar effect with respect to him in particular: he therefore hoped the motion would be considered by the House with a more serious degree of attention. He then went into the conduct of the war during the three last campaigns, and from the little effect which coercion has produced, as well as from the ties of humanity and relative duties, deduced the expediency of adopting the measures recommended in the motion.

Governor *Johnstone* said, he must condemn the general and violent censure thrown out by that young member [Sir Gilbert Elliot] on those gentlemen who had maintained opinions different from his, for several years before he came into Parliament, and who, at this day, found no reason to alter those opinions. He professed himself one of those gentlemen whom the young member had branded with the appellation

of a faction, and to, justify his sentiments, offered a variety of reasons chiefly deduced from facts. He spoke strenuously of the merit of Lord Howe as a commander, not only from his conduct in the present war, but from his own personal knowledge of him. The difficulties he must have met in his passage from New York to the Elk were numerous and immense; yet he understood this gallant officer, equipped as a common sailor, with a jacket and trowsers, went himself into the boats, and with the plumb in his hands, conducted a large fleet up to Chesapeak Bay, thro' shoals and obstructions, which it was thought by able officers were impracticable to get over. But he denied that any real advantage had been acquired by those great achievements; he denied that our trade was in a flourishing state: we had lost the Mediterranean trade, the African trade; and even our home trade was invaded; for very lately a number of French bottoms had been employed to carry our own goods from the river Thames; and as the young member must certainly be a man of learning, he ought to have known that a rise in the interest of money, is a certain sign of the decay of trade.

He defended the minority against the imputation of being factious, and said, that the contest was now of such a nature, that both sides of the House, he had no doubt, acted from principle, in defence of their different opinions. He exhorted the House to be circumspect, and wary in the step they were going to take, and not, without a ray of information from the ministry, now give the decisive vote to conquer or die! He then gave a melancholy detail of the military operations of the present campaign, and particularly of General Burgoyne's defeat:---said that America was forced to declare her independency, in order to secure foreign assistance:---again spoke highly of the character of the British commanders, particularly Lord Howe. The Governor therefore drew as a conclusion, that, if success was not to be derived from such commanders, there must be some inherent obstacle in the cause in which they embarked, which could not be got over. Here, in a digression, he drew a sketch of the state of Spain, under the reign of Charles V. --- of his vast conquests in different parts of the globe, and his discoveries of unknown countries, and contrasted it with the abject and contemptible state that mighty empire was hurried into by his son, in an ill-founded contest with the United States of Holland; and from which it has never raised

raised its head; that the latter prince was the first who found out funding, and afterwards broke the national engagements he had thereby contracted. Observed that the alarming situation of this country might be collected from the present exorbitant interest of money, and that the trade of it was now in the hands of government. He concluded with remarking, that all he wished, in order to accommodate the present differences, was to see America brought back to what she was at the end of the last war.

Mr. *Wilkes*. By the established doctrine of Parliament, I am authorised to consider the first day of a new session as peculiarly the day of the minister; perhaps more peculiarly so than even the important day towards the close of the session, which is regarded as the day of his triumph, and called his opening of the budget. On that day, the minister submits to the House his state of the finances of this kingdom, an account of the various sums voted during the session, the ways and means he proposes of raising the supply, the certain and probable expences of the year, the new taxes, and in general the revenues and sources of the empire. This first day of a session is still more interesting, and holds forth more important matter to our consideration. The session is regularly opened by a speech from the throne; but, although pronounced by the King, it is parliamentary language always to stile it the speech of the minister, that in a fair and full discussion of it, the sacred name of majesty may not be made use of to controul or check that freedom of debate, which is the essence, and constitutes the great dignity, of an English House of Commons. The minister, Sir, then, in the speech, gives us a general view of our situation both at home and abroad, the probability of the continuance of war or peace, the state of foreign powers, so far as they are likely to affect this empire, and, in short, whatever has a relation to our internal security, or foreign connections with the allies of the crown. But, Sir, this is only the minister's *coup d'œil* of the kingdom; his declaration of what he thinks the actual situation of public affairs. It is a kind of ministerial chart, which the House may adopt, or reject at pleasure, and pursue the same, or a course directly opposite. I thought it necessary, Sir, to premise this before I go into the examination of the paper on our table; and I shall not scruple to avail myself of the right I claim, as one of the representatives of the people, to treat that production as containing merely a sketch of the minister's sentiments, as the substance

stance of the political creed which he wishes to be received by the nation.

The speech, Sir, in my idea, clearly conveys to this House a firm resolution to continue this unnatural, unjust and barbarous war, to our utter destruction. It breathes a spirit of unrelenting rage, of cruelty and carnage, a savage thirst of blood. The torrents of blood already shed, and the prodigious waste of national treasure, have hitherto been followed with no signal or splendid successes. In the third year of the war nothing decisive has happened. We are still bleeding at every vein to support this American contest, and I see no probability of a near and final period. We cannot but observe in the declaration of the minister, that perseverance in error, that fatal obstinacy in the pursuance of his mischievous plan, which must end in the ruin of our country, and the complete establishment of another potent empire from the fragments of the British monarchy. Scarcely a faint gleam of hope dawns upon us. Ministers seem determined to rush on to imaginary conquest, and certain irretrievable ruin; for if the war should be continued, on the present wild and expensive plan, it will effectually bankrupt the nation. We are told, Sir, in the speech, that the minister has "a just confidence that the conduct and courage of our officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of our forces, both by sea and land, will be attended with important success." The high spirit and courage of Englishmen has never been doubted. Would to God, Sir, they were at this time exerted in a good cause, in a just and righteous quarrel! But, Sir, to this hour we know of no important success; we have scarcely a certainty of one favourable event of this year's campaign. Even the ministers tremble for the condition of General Burgoyne. I will however suppose that every advantage, which the most sanguine friends of administration has propagated without proof, is at last authenticated, that Philadelphia is taken, and the army under General Washington totally defeated. Let us recollect, Sir, what passed after Boston was taken by the British forces. Our general was soon besieged in that capital of New England, ignominiously cooped up there many months with twenty regiments, and at last driven from thence. I know the colouring given to this retreat by the court-party among us, and have been nauseated with the cant terms of our generals changing their quarters, and shifting their positions; but I know likewise that their artillery and stores were left behind

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

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behind. All the military men of this country now confess that the retreat of General Howe from Boston was an absolute flight, as much so, Sir, as that of Mahomet from Mecca. Should Philadelphia be taken, we have indeed one more American town in our possession, if it is not reduced to ashes by us, like several other towns and villages. Shall we be able to keep it longer than we did Boston? Will not experience warrant me to suspect, that before the winter is over, we shall hear of General Howe's being besieged in Philadelphia, and at last retiring from thence with the loss of his heavy cannon and warlike stores, as he did from Boston? The object of the last year's campaign was the conquest of the two Jerseys. It succeeded. This year our troops have been obliged to evacuate both the Jerseys, which are lately declared to be out of the King's peace. I will likewise suppose, Sir, that the report of General Washington's defeat is confirmed, and the total dispersion of that army. I remember about a month before the affair of Trenton, the army of General Washington had so entirely melted away, that he had not five hundred men under his command, yet the prospect of success against the German mercenaries there, gave him, at a critical moment, a small but spirited army, and the just vengeance of America proved fatal to almost the whole body of Hessians at Trenton. Admitting that General Washington has suffered a severe check, will he not be able to recruit, from an immense track of country devoted to his cause and person? Still, Sir, two other provincial armies, in no small degree formidable, subsist, one in Massachusetts Bay, the other in South Carolina. They have received no check; they may march against the army of General Howe, reduced and weakened by the brilliant victories which he is said to have gained. To give the strongest force to this reasoning, let me put the case of a general dispersion of the provincial troops in America, and of the dissolution of the Congress, what conduct can Great Britain then pursue? How will you preserve a country that extends from Hudson's Bay to the southern extremity of Florida? Will you garrison all their towns? Will your army separate and go into cantonments? If you do, wherever you are weak, you will be attacked, and your troops probably meet the fate of the Hessians at Trenton. But, Sir, this country neither has, nor can raise, an army adequate to these purposes; and if we could hire all the regimented savages of Germany and Russia, the common destroyers of the human race, we must

must sink under the attempt. The nation would be beggared by the effort. The noble Lord at the head of our finance would soon find all the pillars of public credit shaken to their foundations, and all the fountains of national wealth dried up and exhausted. On such terms America is not worth the holding.

I am aware, Sir, that it will be said, the Americans will, in case of general success on your part, give up the contest, and submit to the terms you prescribe. The late experience of General Burgoyne is the fullest answer to this objection. He tells us, that the very provincials, who were most forward to profess themselves loyalists, and to take the oaths of allegiance, and to submit to Lieutenant Colonel Baum, were the first that fired on him; that they set the example to the other troops, which ended in the total destruction of that detachment. He highly blames a provincial gentleman for being so incautious as to leave at liberty such as took the oath of allegiance; a strange mode of persuading the others, to confine their countrymen the moment you consent to admit them to swear allegiance. Men are not converted, Sir, by the force of the bayonet at the breast, nor by imprisonment. It is like the violence of a highwayman. He takes your purse indeed, but you recover it the instant you become stronger than the robber. Nor is this to be considered as treachery. It was a compact founded only in force, and destroyed in the same manner. But I believe the Americans are neither to be cozened, nor by violence deprived of either liberty or property. I therefore recur, Sir, to the amendment proposed by the excellent Lord,* to address his Majesty to order a cessation of hostilities, as the only means of beginning a treaty, and effecting a reconciliation with our American brethren. The hostile measures echoed to the throne in the address moved, will be ineffectual, and only serve to strengthen the independence of the colonies; and give additional vigour to their resistance. We cannot succeed by force, nor in this commercial country is the object worth our while, were it possible. Let us carry this plain truth to the foot of the throne, and let Parliament hold to the nation a language different from what we have hitherto heard from ministers.

* The Marquis of Granby.

The nation, Sir, has been duped for several years by a succession of ministerial falsehoods. When the Boston port bill passed, the minister declared that we should soon have America at our feet, for the rest of the Massachusetts Bay would desert Boston. The other provinces, he assured us, would, from a rooted jealousy, rejoice at her humiliation, and divide her trade. When the whole province became like one man, it was said the southern colonies however disapproved the conduct of New England. After both the southern and northern colonies united, and made a common cause, we were told, that means were found to prevent the meeting of the Congress. General Gage declared, that he would be in the midst of them. He chose however not then to shift his position. The Congress met without him, and in the most perfect spirit of unanimity, for their wranglings were never heard but by the gentlemen of our treasury-bench. The non-importation and the non-exportation agreements were likewise declared impossible to subsist in a nest of known smugglers, yet time has shewn how strictly they have been preserved. It was likewise most confidently averred, that the cowardly Americans dared not assemble in arms, and that two regiments were sufficient to march through, and subdue, the rebellious colonies. This however must be acknowledged to be prior to the siege of General Howe and the twenty regiments in Boston. I will not, Sir, tire the House with recapitulating the regular succession of court tales and fictions; they have long been the amusement of mankind, both at home and abroad. Ministers however still affect to believe, that thirteen colonies can be conquered, after having for three years baffled all our efforts both by sea and land, trained and disciplined their people, settled to the satisfaction of the inhabitants their respective governments, raised large armies to serve during the war, provided for their pay, and collected immense stores of artillery, arms, and ammunition, seconded by the zeal of all America, and more than the good-will and applause of all Europe---except the court-faction among us. But, Sir, although America cannot be conquered, it may perhaps be regained by the arts of justice and equity, by temper and moderation. The sword must first be sheathed, according to the proposed amendment of the noble Lord, and then we may talk of peace on fair and solid terms; on terms of equality as brethren, and heirs of the same free constitution. I would hope that things are not yet quite desperate. I am sure peace

will be the greatest blessing to both countries. It is perhaps even more necessary for us than for them. The infant American state seems already to possess the strength and vigour of the infant Hercules, ready to be exerted in a similar manner, in subduing the monsters of tyranny and violence. Our exhausted state is well known to our enemies, who triumph in our fatal distractions, and are preparing to avail themselves of our distressed condition. Sir, I must again and again repeat, that, in my idea, a reconciliation with America is necessary for this country. A firm, lasting agreement with the colonies on terms of justice, or I am sure it will not be permanent, can alone save us from impending ruin. The answer of the Privernates to the Romans should govern us, *si bonam pacem, et fidam, et perpetuam---si malam, haud diuturnam---* the reception such an answer met with was worthy of the Roman people. Livy says, *Pars melior senatus ad meliora responsum trahere et dicere, viri et liberi vocem auditam.*

The speech, Sir, seems to flatter us with a promise of attention to this great object, the restoration of peace to this distracted and dismembered empire. It says, "I shall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war." The ministers, Sir, rejected with indignity one happy opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, when even after the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker's Hill, the Congress humbly supplicated his Majesty, to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. To the mad insult of the American Secretary, Lord Dartmouth, when he told the agents of the colonies, in September, 1775, in the King's name, that no answer would be given, all the subsequent calamities of the civil war are to be attributed, and perhaps the loss of half our empire. Many calamities, Sir, are undoubtedly inseparable from a state of war; yet the present war against our brethren in America has been attended with peculiar circumstances of cruelty, which fill the mind with horror, with calamities, which are not inseparable from a state of war. Are the scalping knife and tomohawk necessary calamities of war? Are they inseparable from it? God forbid! I have read, Sir, a late proclamation of that great general and preacher, Mr. Burgoyne. which is shocking to a civilized and generous nation. As a state-paper it disgraces our country. The
imperial

imperial court have often employed many kind of irregular troops, Croats, Pandours, and Huffars, but their names disgrace no public act. If they plunder they do not torture. The pious preacher, Mr. Burgoyne, complains of this froward and stubborn generation, and at the very moment of mentioning his consciousness of Christianity, displays a spirit of cruelty, repugnant to every principle of humanity. He boasts that he will give stretch to the Indian forces under his direction, and they amount to thousands. Merciful Heaven ! thousands of Indian savages let loose by the command of a British general against our brethren in America ! Human nature shrinks back from such a scene. At his heels leasht in, like hounds, should famine, sword and fire, crouch for employment. Mr. Burgoyne's feelings as a man I fear will not hereafter be as universally acknowledged as the military talents of the great general. In the present case I have that pity for him and his employers which they have not shewn to others. What, Sir, has been, and continues, the conduct of the Indian savages in war ? Is it not to exercise the most shocking cruelties on their enemies, without distinction of age or sex ? The conduct of this war goes on a par with its principle. Has the feeble old man, the helpless infant, the defenceless female, ever experienced the tender mercies of an Indian savage ? He drinks the blood of his enemy, and his favourite repast is on human flesh. Is a stretch given to thousands of these canibals by the command, in a public manifesto of one of the King's generals ? I am bold, Sir, to declare, that such orders are unworthy the general of any Christian king. They are only becoming a Jewish priest to a Jewish king, a Samuel to a Saul, in the most bloody and barbarous of all histories, the history of the Jewish nation. The orders of the Jewish priests were, Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not ; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass. General Burgoyne threatens the Americans with all the vengeance of the state, not its justice, that the messengers of wrath will meet them in the field, devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror. Not the sword of even-handed justice, falling only on the head of the bold rebel, but the savage horrors of the tomohawk from the thousands of Indians under his direction on the innocent women and children. I remember, Sir, an honourable gentleman [Lord Advocate of Scotland] whom I see in his place, a gentleman very high in the law,

not only humanely proposing, according to the ideas, and in the language of his own country, but dwelling with rapture on what he classically called a starvation bill for the poor Americans. I rely however, Sir, on the spirit of the Americans that they will neither suffer the fate of the Amalekites, nor retaliate the attempt on the savages of Europe.

This year, Sir, we have again in the speech repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions. The noble Lord [Lord Hyde] who moved the address, thinks France will not change ; and the honourable gentleman [Sir Gilbert Elliot] who seconded the motion, assures us of the perfect amity of the neighbouring powers. Can any change, Sir, be equally advantageous to France as a perseverance in the present system ? America now pours all her wealth into the lap of the house of Bourbon, and she sees her ancient enemy daily perishing by a fatal civil war. Even the minister seems to begin to awake from his long lethargy ; for the speech says, “ at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, it is thought adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to our naval force.” Parliament ought to have been informed of the whole truth with respect to the treachery of France. I am sure, Sir, I shall not be contradicted when I affirm, that France, the government of France, not covertly nor underhand, not secretly by merchants, but indirectly and openly, as a government, assist the Americans. The two Congress ships of war, which had the engagement with the *Druid*, are now refitting at L'Orient on the coast of Britany, and furnished with every necessary from the French king's stores at that place. The fact is well known to the minister, and tamely submitted to ; but this open insult on the nation is endeavoured to be carefully concealed.

The old ally of this nation, Portugal, is not honoured with being once mentioned in the speech. I will give the House the reason. Portugal is not only lost to us, but is become an acquisition to the house of Bourbon, by acceding to the Family Compact.* By that treaty, Sir, which was published

* The Family Compact is a treaty of the most alarming nature to all Europe. An abstract of it is given in the “ *Journal Historique, ou Fastes, du Regne de Louis XV.*” printed at Paris in 2 vols. 8vo. with the king's privilege, in 1766. “ 15 Août, 1761, le Roi

published in the French Gazette, all subjects of the house of Bourbon were to be favoured equally with the natives of each respective state, as to every privilege of navigation and commerce. Such a treaty, Sir, directly militates against all our former treaties, of Utrecht, Aix la-chapelle, and others, particularly those with Spain, by which we were to be treated as the most favoured nation. It will be a fatal blow to the trade of this kingdom, whenever it is carried into execution by the whole house of Bourbon.

An universal gloom, Sir, seems to be spreading over our political hemisphere, yet we are called upon by ministers to address the throne in such terms, as if we were only suffering a light and transient misfortune, not groaning under the load of exorbitant and enormous taxes, and on the brink of ruin. Since the late augmentation of the civil list we seem to be wonderfully improved in chirping addresses. This is not, however, a piping time of peace. Compliments during the calamity of a wide-extended civil war, brought on by ministerial oppression, are absurd. The prospect from America is covered with clouds and darkness. A ray of light, however, seems to beam upon us from the noble Lord's amendment. If that is rejected, I fear the nation will be sunk in despair. That proposition I consider as the first step to a reconciliation. After a cessation of hostilities, I hope

Roi et le Roi d'Espagne concluent un traité ou pacte de famille, tant pour eux que pour le Roi des Deux Siciles, et l'Infant Duc de Parme, contenant 28 articles, par lesquels ils établissent entre eux une alliance perpétuelle, convenant de regarder à l'avenir comme ennemie, toute puissance ennemie de l'un d'eux, et se garantissant réciproquement tous leurs états dans quelques parties du monde qu'ils soient situés, suivant l'état où ils se trouveront, au moment où les trois couronnes et le Prince de Parme se trouveront en paix avec les autres puissances ; s'obligeant de se fournir les secours nécessaires, de faire la guerre conjointement, et de ne point faire de paix séparée l'un de l'autre. Ce traité porte encore suppression du droit d'aubaine en France, en faveur des sujets des Rois d'Espagne et de Sicile ; et convention expresse que *les sujets des trois couronnes jouiront, dans leurs états réciproques, des mêmes droits, privilèges et exemptions que les nationaux, par rapport à la navigation et au commerce, sans que les autres puissances de l'Europe puissent être admises à cette alliance de famille, ni prétendre pour leurs sujets, le même traitement dans les états des trois couronnes.*

“ Les ratifications de ce traité furent échangées le 8 Septembre.”
vol. 2. page 707.

our fleets and armies will be withdrawn, all the late unjust acts repealed, and the charters restored. Let us treat with the liberal spirit of freemen and Englishmen. Unconditional submission is unconstitutional submission, and becomes only the slaves of an arbitrary monarch. Force against the vast American continent we have found avails us nothing. All coercion is impossible. The attempts of violence have been followed with deep distress, shame, and disappointment. Let us therefore at last hear the mild voice of reason. The times teem with events, which must determine the fate of this once great and powerful empire. Let us be guided by the principles of lenity and justice, that the blessings of peace and union may be restored, and permanently remain, to the whole empire.

Mr. Alderman Bull.

Mr. Alderman *Bull*. I hardly need to say, that I shall take up but very little of the time of the House. I never yet have, I never shall think, that any thing I can offer will long deserve the attention of this House. But, Sir, the motion of the noble Lord is, in the present situation of our affairs, of so much importance, that I cannot satisfy myself without giving my public testimony in favour of it.

The distracted state of this empire demands the most serious and earnest attention of each individual of the representatives of the people.

Divided and distressed as we are at home, convulsed and distracted as they are in our once valuable colonies, uncertain as are the events of war, it behoves us to turn our thoughts to conciliation and peace; to restore, if possible, and to establish on a basis that may be permanent and immovable, that good understanding and harmony which once so happily subsisted betwixt us and our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic.

To enter into the question of taxation without representation, after it has been so frequently and fully debated, would be a waste of time; I will therefore only declare, that, in my opinion, property taken without the consent of the owner, or his representative, is robbery: it is what our constitution never warranted; and any body of men who tamely submit to such an alienation of their birth-right, are utterly unworthy of the exalted name of freemen.

This motion of amendment has peace for its object, and it is founded upon the generous principle of equality. Can there be any reason urged, why our brethren in America should not enjoy as fully all the privileges of the constitution, as our brethren in Ireland? Can there be any reason urged, why our brethren in Ireland should not enjoy all the privileges

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to which Englishmen are intitled? I am confident there cannot.

Sir, it is the boast, it is the glory, it is the perfection of our constitution, that every subject of it is equally interested in its privileges. To preserve this equality, our heroic forefathers suffered and bled; they counted not their lives dear, but exposed them to dangers and to death, in defence of their right of giving and granting their own money.

A noble lord, once a valuable member of this House, declared within these walls, that he rejoiced that America had resisted. I, Sir, rejoice that the spirit of Englishmen, that the spirit of our forefathers, is seen to animate their descendants on the other side of the globe; and if ever such a claim should be exercised in our sister kingdom of Ireland, as that we are now unjustly, wantonly, and cruelly exercising in America, I hope that a spirit of genuine liberty and resistance will arise, sufficient to overwhelm it.

Hitherto, Sir, we have been fascinated with the unmeaning parade of the uncontrollable authority of the parent state, and the supremacy of parliament. We have been shedding the blood of many brave men, and wasting the money of the people, for a mere phantom; and have, at length, been hurried on, by our mad ideas of superiority and invincibility, to the very brink of destruction.

The predictions long since declared in this House, have in part already been accomplished: injustice has its reward; disappointment and disgrace its portion.

In this horrid contest, we have gained nothing but unhappy experience; experience, however, by which wise men would profit. What has it opened to us? Scenes of returning commerce and felicity? No:—on the contrary, nothing but scenes of general distraction and misery. Let us, therefore, seize the present favourable opportunity. Let us bury in eternal oblivion our past animosities; and, by an offer of peace and of liberty, reconcile those whose friendship is our interest, but whose enmity, in the end, will certainly be our ruin.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerk*. I shall heartily concur in the first part of the proposed address, which is to convey our dutiful congratulations to the King, on the safe delivery of the Queen, and the birth of another Princess; an event which I do most sincerely rejoice at; but having constantly opposed the American war, from the commencement of it, as thinking it might and ought to have been avoided, and for other reasons, which I have frequently offered in this House, and which are too well justified by events, which have happened in the prosecution

Sir P. J. Clerk.

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secution of it ; it will not be wondered at, that I should now refuse to give my assent to those other parts of this address, which are to convey assurances to the throne, of our intentions to furnish means of prolonging and continuing the war.

I do most heartily adopt the amendment made by the noble Lord : it is of a conciliating nature, tending to put an end to this unfortunate quarrel, which has brought this country to the eve of its ruin, and which, if persevered in, must end in its destruction. A motion of a nature similar to this, was made by a noble Earl in another house, in the early part of these troubles. That noble Earl, the greatest minister and the ablest statesman this country ever boasted of, wishing to save this country a second time from impending ruin, stepped forth in its distress, and produced a plan of a bill, which would at once have prevented all the calamities which since that time have befallen us. It forewarned you at that time of all the distresses and dangers which have since happened. Unhappily for this country, little credit was given to his predictions ; his plan of accommodation was rejected, not because it was disapproved, but there is too much reason to think that a jealousy of that great man's abilities deprived us of the benefit of his proffered services. His plan, so dissimilar to that of gentlemen in administration, could not be accepted without depriving them of their places. A reason which, I fear, will protract this war, as long as any honest man has a guinea left in his pocket, or a man, woman or child left alive in America, if we continue to furnish ministers with means to destroy them. A great price indeed for their services !

Had that noble Earl's plan been accepted, we should be considered as their friends, not their murderers ; and should now probably be in quiet possession of our colonies. The people of that country would be now looking up to us for protection. Then, by a revival of trade and their assistance, we should be in a situation not to cringe to any foreign power, but to demand, if necessary, that justice by the sword, which we are now obliged to implore by memorials and petitions.

Mr. Serj.
Adair.

Mr. Serjeant *Adair* said he had one argument to offer on the present question, which had not been offered by any gentlemen who had spoken before him. He was astonished that on the first day of the session, when parliament, particularly under such critical circumstances as the present, should expect every information that ministry were able to furnish, in order to justify the house in pledging itself to supply government, not one man in administration had deigned to stand up to give parliament the smallest ray of light on the present state of affairs.

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affairs. It was unknown how we stood with respect to France and Spain ; and it was strongly suspected that Portugal had acceded to the Bourbon compact. These were circumstances that should have some influence on our measures, and whatever knowledge government had of those matters, ought of course to be laid before the House : and the withholding such information, if any they had, was a sufficient reason for the House to postpone the address till they should be better instructed on those material subjects.

Lord *North* said, he did not think of troubling the House Ld. North. so early in the debate, but he thought it necessary to clear up the point started by the learned Serjeant respecting the information he hinted at ; for, that in the course of twenty years attendance in that House, he never remembered it to be the business of the minister to give a comment on the King's speech. And in answer to a charge of another honourable gentleman [Mr. Wilkes] it was the first he heard of General Burgoyne, like Samuel, putting man, woman, and ass, to the sword, as had thus been wantonly imputed to him. That the Indian savages in the King's service were headed by proper officers, who had it in charge to prevent the inhumanities complained of :---that, lest it be deemed improper to have secured the Indians, it was necessary to inform the House, that the Americans had made overtures to gain them to their service, and therefore it was thought prudent to engage them, as an effectual means, among many others, of suppressing the rebellion. With respect to the invidious, and odious aspersions thrown on the character of that military senator, now in his country's service, he trusted he should see him take his seat again in that House, when, he had no doubt, but he would be able to defend himself fully against any man, who would rise up, and accuse him. As to the unhappy war itself, his Lordship assured the House, he wished as heartily as any member there for the happy moment to arrive, when something might be chalked out to effect the wished-for accommodation ; but that happy moment must be the moment of victory. He confessed they were in the dark with respect to the late operations, having received no intelligence from Sir William Howe since a day or two after his landing at the head of the Elk river : he said, it would be absurd to order a cessation of arms on the part of the King's troops, as such a step would naturally imply that their original claim would be admitted ; but said,

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the commanding officers had a power of granting a cessation whenever they deemed it expedient.

With respect to foreign powers, he assured the House, that from every thing he had been able to collect, he could not find it was the interest, nor did he believe it was the intention, of France or Spain to go to war with us ; but as they thought proper to keep on foot great armaments in their several ports, he deemed it prudent to put this country in an equal state of defence, to guard against the possibility of an attack ; that the language of the court of France was by no means that of war ; whenever it had been deemed unintelligible, strong remonstrances had been made, and redress had been received : that they had published the strongest declarations, forbidding any countenance being shewn the Americans ; and, in consequence of this conduct of the French ministry, that no depredations had been committed on our coast.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* replied, and expressed a great concern that the matters urged by so many respectable members as spoke before him should be treated so lightly, and took an opportunity of complimenting the several honourable persons already mentioned, and ridiculed the haughtiness of the minister. [If it were possible, we would give a detail of a speech, which, in the course of almost two hours, commanded the attention, excited the laughter, and sometimes drew tears from the sympathizing few ; but we must omit all those changes of ridicule which were rung by his ingenuity upon the defence which Lord North made in answer to the charge against General Burgoyne's proclamation ; also pass over his proofs of the futility and injury of our conquests in the colonies, and touch only on that pathetic supplication which he made to the House, to seize the present happy moment to attempt an accommodation, when neither elated with insolent victory, nor debased with abject defeat, we could with honour to ourselves make such proposals to our colonists, as they could, without dishonour, accept.] He apostrophised with a degree of enthusiasm upon the noble spirit of men, who, if they had not been rebels, he could have been lavish in praising ; of women who, reduced by the ruin of civil discord, to the most horrible situation of distress and poverty, had constancy, generosity, and public spirit, to strip the blankets, in a freezing season, from themselves and their infants, to send them to the camp, and preserve that army which they had sent out to fight for their liberty. And shall Britons,

Britons, said he, overlook such virtue ? and will they persist in oppressing it ? Shall we give them no alternative but unconditional submission ? A three years war has not terrified them, distressed as they are, from their great purpose. Let us try the power of lenity over those generous bosoms.

Mr. Fox asserted, that the idea of conquering America was absurd ; and that such an event was, in the nature of things, absolutely impossible. He proved his assertion from the situation of the country, the disposition of the people, and the distance from Great Britain. He said, that though the resources of this empire were such as to enable us to carry on the war for several campaigns more, that there was a radical, a fundamental error in the proceedings, which would for ever prevent our generals from acting with success ; said that no man of common sense would have placed the two armies in such a position as from their distance made it utterly impossible that one should receive any assistance from the other. That the war carried on by Burgoyne, was a war of posts : that the taking of one did not subdue the country, but that it would be necessary to conquer it inch by inch--that his army was not equal to the task--the numerous skirmishes with the enemy, and the natural difficulties of the country, would so retard his motions, that the campaign must be ended before the object of it was fulfilled ; and that if he was happy enough to join Sir William Howe, it must be with nothing more than the shattered remains of an army mouldered away, which might have been of some service to the cause, if by the blunders of the ministry they had not been sent where it was impossible they could act, unless under the greatest disadvantages ; such as must be obvious to a man of the meanest abilities, and which would escape no one but the inauspicious minister for American affairs.

He was severe on Lord George Germaine : he declared that ever since the day that nobleman forced himself into administration, our affairs began remarkably to decline. That it was the measures which he dictated to the ministry, that drove the Americans to a declaration of independence ; and that as he was the cause of the continuation of the war, so he should not only be removed from the management of our officers, but be made to know, that a minister is accountable to the nation for the orders he gives, and the measures he advises. He expressed the greatest horror at arming the Indians, and letting them loose, not only against the troops of America, but also against the defenceless women and children,

dren, whose bodies even death could not rescue from the insults and barbarity of the savages. He said, he wondered how a prince, famed for his humanity, benevolence, and sanctity of manners, as the present King is, could abet or suffer such miscreants to remain in his camp, when it is well known that brutality, murder, and destruction, are ever inseparable from Indian warriors.

He took a cursory review of the operations of the several campaigns——shewed what little we had gained, and of course how little we might expect to gain; and expressed his hearty wishes that we were now in as good a state, as when the noble Lord found us, in 1775. He asserted that France was the directress of our motions; that we go no farther than she thinks proper to permit us; and that the fate of the American contest depended on her councils; that if she declared war, the immediate consequence must be an evacuation of America; our troops and ships must be called home to defend ourselves, and America of course become free. He reprobated all the proceeding; and asked for what purpose hostilities were commenced? If it was to maintain the navigation act, why were so many French bottoms employed in the river? If it was to raise a revenue, he observed, that the ministry took a very serious step to effect their purpose, by plunging the nation into a new debt of fifteen millions. If they intended to secure the commerce of America by arms, they had most happily hit upon a plan, that not only deprived us of the benefit of it, but had thrown it all into the hands of our enemies. He said, if terms were offered to the Americans before it were too late, they might perhaps accept them; that at least it would be doing no more than justice should require at our hands; that it would detach many of them from the Congress, and by dividing them, facilitate a conquest; that he could not wish to see them reduced to unconditional submission; which it is not more unjust to require, than impossible to force them to. He concluded by giving his hearty consent to the amendment.

Ld. George
Germaine.

Lord *George Germaine* got up, and informed the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that he had never deemed himself of so much consequence as he did at that moment; when he was told by the honourable gentleman, that the Americans declared their independence, because he came into office. The honourable gentleman was possessed of vast abilities, which he employed to render his measures not only contemptible,

tible, but criminal in the eyes of the House; that it was natural for him to feel himself hurt by the charges of the honourable gentleman, and that he hoped the House would indulge him with a little attention, while he endeavoured to wipe away the blot which the honourable gentleman had seemed anxious to fix upon his administration. He then begged leave to inform the gentleman, that before he came into office, he was asked by the noble Lord near him [Lord North] if he would support those sentiments in office he had before delivered in Parliament; upon which he had desired to see their plan of operations, and finding them agreeable to his ideas, he declared he would, and would have no objection to serve his Sovereign in place, with the same alacrity he did when out, as long as the system laid down, was not inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. For the truth of what he advanced he appealed to the noble Lord.

For his part, he said, he could not see the shadow of a reason which could justify the assertion of the honourable gentleman, that affairs had grown worse since the management of them was committed to his hands. When his Majesty had honoured him with the post of secretary of state, the King's troops were besieged in Boston, Nova Scotia was in danger, and the Floridas threatened with an invasion by the Carolinians: in a word, even hope, at the time, seemed in some degree presumption; yet, to the honour of administration, and our commanders in America, he was happy to say, that the gloomy prospect had disappeared, and given place to the most promising scene of success. No official information, indeed, had been received from Sir William Howe; but that, from the private advices that had been brought to hand, there is every reason to conjecture that General Washington has received a check, and that General Howe is, most probably, now pursuing his blow and improving his advantage; and to this, he said, it was natural to attribute his silence.

With regard to the Canada expedition, the honourable gentleman was under a mistake when he imagined that General Burgoyne had orders to fight his way to New York, there to join Sir William Howe: that his orders to the former were to clear the country of rebels as far as Albany, which town was prescribed to him as the boundary of his expedition, unless circumstances might make it necessary to co-operate with General Howe, in which case he was to as-

sist him to the utmost of his power. The operations of the campaigns, since he became a minister, had been wisely planned, and executed with no less spirit than judgment; and such were the measures pursued, that had it not been for the unforeseen misfortune at Trenton, there was every reason to believe that the last campaign would have been decisive.

The treaty with the Indians was grossly misrepresented, and sorry he was to say, that there had not been candour enough on the other side of the House, to acknowledge that government was driven to that measure by necessity. The Americans, it is well known, tampered with the Indians, and strained every nerve to induce them to take an active part against the King's friends; and the idea of treating for a neutrality, was never started, till the effort to make them take up the war hatchet had proved abortive. We at worst but copied the righteous and infallible Congress, but with more success. When General Burgoyne treated with the savages, he insisted that if they joined his forces, they should absolutely conform to his laws of subordination; and the Sachems, to whose commands the Indians are known to pay the most implicit obedience, gave the general the most positive assurances that their men would observe the strictest discipline. When a measure does not answer the expectation of the planner, after he has taken every possible precaution to ensure success, it must surely be unreasonable to blame men, merely for not being able to command events.

His Lordship observed that the honourable gentleman had paid him a compliment, for which he was not bound to thank him, as he was thoroughly convinced it was not intended as such. It was plain the honourable gentleman was no enemy to the Americans, and his being so very strenuous for removing him from the direction of affairs seemed to indicate, that success would be more likely to attend the arms of the rebels, if he ceased to have the direction of affairs. That the honourable gentleman had endeavoured to create a jealousy in the breast of the premier, but he was too well assured of his noble colleague's good sense, to be under any apprehensions on that head. That as he came into office without desiring it, so he was ready to retire from it without regret, the moment that House should disapprove of his measures. His circumstances, he thanked Heaven, were such as not to force him to submit to any disgraceful terms, and to render the emoluments of a minister unnecessary to his subsistence.

He knew he was responsible for his orders, and flattered himself he had never delivered any, which should dishonour him as a man, a citizen, or a minister. He did not want the Americans to lay down their arms and submit unconditionally to the law of the conqueror; they might treat by individuals; nor were the commissioners, as was said, without sufficient powers to act.

There was every reason, he declared, to hope for success in America. The Congress, by the great bounties offered for soldiers, shewed they were hard set to recruit their forces; that the hardships the people actually suffer under their despotic tyrants, compared with the mild government they had withdrawn themselves from, and under which they had become so powerful, have nearly brought them to a sense of their error, and made them sick of rebellion.

They boasted of liberty; but surely no one in his senses would say, that the shadow of liberty was to be found among men, where the smallest complaint against the established government was punished with imprisonment and confiscation of goods; where if a gentleman should say half as much against their usurped power, as had been said that night against the rulers of the nation, his life would be made to answer for his boldness.

He said, that as the amendment, if carried, would tend to keep up the spirit of independence, which has for some time past hurried away their reason, he should think himself an enemy to his country, if he should do otherwise than stamp it with his negative.

Colonel *Barré* shewed the necessity of sending out full powers to the commissioners, of presenting the olive branch to the Americans before they became utterly irreconcilable to Great Britain: he complained that his letters were opened by the orders of the ministers, and that no officer from America dared to speak to him, as he was looked upon as a proscribed person.

Hon. *T. Luttrell* said, he had not an idea that any member of the House of Commons, who conscientiously fulfilled his duty to the public, could vote for the ministerial address, moved by the noble Lord on the other side of the floor. That so unbecoming a courtesy to the Crown, should never get the ascendant in his mind over that impulse of loyalty and true regard to the King, which prompted him to speak truths, and to forewarn his Sovereign of those imminent dangers which threatened both his realms, and his person, in case the present

Hon. *T.
Luttrell.*

present bloody measures of his ministers should at this conjuncture be pursued with so unrelenting a perseverance as the speech from the throne seemed to threaten.

He lamented, that every session since he held a seat in that House, had been opened with a speech from the throne, which merited, in his humble opinion, very severe reprehensions from the delegates of a free people; for he was not so fortunate as to possess a seat in Parliament, till the bright æra of the present reign was quite at an end.

He had not the happiness to be seated among them, when his Majesty, contemplating the honour and glory in which he found this empire at the death of his royal grandfather, assured the Commons, that "the rights of all his subjects, were as dear to him as any prerogative of the crown." For this assurance, he should undoubtedly have been among the first to vote an address of thanks. He was not among them, when his Majesty declared that it was "his determined purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue;" that sensible of "our trade and commerce being the great source of national wealth, they should be the fixed object of his never-failing care and attention;" and when recounting the rapid and important victories which had attended the British arms in every quarter of the globe against a formidable foreign enemy, the minister of that day did so far justice to the benevolent feelings of his royal master, as to state those conquests transcendantly glorious, "because effected almost without any effusion of Christian blood." This was surely a speech from the throne, that merited the unanimous thanks of a British House of Commons. Sir, since I have been in Parliament, I have heard no speeches from the throne, but such as have tended to deprive a great part of his Majesty's faithful subjects of their dearest rights, and unalienable liberties; to bring one half of his people unconditionally prostrate at the feet of the other half; such measures only as have "unconstitutionally and dangerously advanced the regal prerogative;" propositions and sentiments "subversive of true religion and virtue," and utterly destructive of the trade and commerce of this country. And, to compleat all, the ministers who compose these speeches, and defile with them the royal lips, having, by diabolical machinations, kindled a most impious and horrid civil war, and from time to time thrown store of combustibles into the flames, recount the failure and disgrace of the British arms instead of conquest, and triumph in the effusion of
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native blood, and the massacre of thousands of his Majesty's subjects, as equally grateful to Parliament, with the most heroic victories heretofore obtained over France and Spain. Such men, such principles, and such practices, shall never be treated of by me in this House, nor in any other House, without the strongest terms of abhorrence and execration I am master of. The gentleman therefore, whoever he be, for I presume he is not out of hearing, who favoured me with a very polite, anonymous invitation to the cockpit yesterday evening, will here receive my thanks for his kind intentions, and accept of my excuse for non-attendance. I indeed never go to the cockpit at Whitehall, nor to any other cockpit; and when, upon an enquiry, I understood that none resorted to that cockpit, but such as were determined, at all events, to follow the standard of the present men in power, I took for granted (and have not been much deceived) that the speech and addresses there settled, would be fit only for a cockpit, in the original meaning of the word; that sort of theatre, so disgraceful to the humanity of Englishmen; a rendezvous for ruffians and black-legs, to disport with the lives of innocence, generosity, and valour. The cockpit was the place in which he should have judged the ministers to have learnt, that the most effectual way to put an end to the war, was by the tomahawks, and canibal fury of the Quebec Indians. The worthy Baronet who seconded the motion for an address, presumes, that "every man will admit the supreme sovereignty of this country to be vested in the legislature;" but it seems the supreme sovereignty is now transferred in fact to the cockpit, and we farcially meet here for no better purpose, than to confirm and register the acts of that more august assembly.

The best criterion, I imagine, from whence we can judge of the real sense of Parliament at the first day of the present session, is from considering what the sense of Parliament was, respecting this horrible war, at the close of the session last year, when you, Sir, with proper dignity and firmness, having touched upon the very profuse sums which had been allowed by the commons to the crown, for maintaining the American war, observed, they had been thus liberal, "hoping that means would be found to stop the ravages of war, and the destruction of his Majesty's subjects, without which there was but too much reason to fear, that consequences would ensue ruinous to the prosperity, perhaps fatal to the safety of these kingdoms." Have such means been attempt-

ed, or thought of by ministers? Why then are we assured in the speech, that every opportunity will be watched to make peace? And why does the minister in the blue ribbon now tell us, that "every man in the nation wishes for peace?" But, says the honourable member, who so ingeniously seconded the address, however we may lightly touch on the original cause of the war, that is not now the subject in point, "we have come to a decision; the dye is cast." Here we are again brought back to that favourite passage of the Rubicon, and the *jaeta est alea*; of a truth there is some justice in the comparison, between our ministers crossing the Atlantic, and Cæsar crossing the river Rubicon from Gaul; for though these ministers considered as statesmen, or as commanders, are no more like Cæsar, than I to Hercules, yet did he, like them, take up the battle against the constitution of his country; and having rashly made the first decisive step, he saw no possibility of receding, without the loss of his credit and his offices, perhaps the forfeiture of his life; for his offences had been scarce less criminal than those of Cataline. What Cicero remarked of the march of Cæsar towards the capital of Italy, may also be well applied to our ministers: "He came well provided with every thing (says that celebrated orator) excepting a good cause." But before I dismiss this transaction of the Rubicon, which is so favourite a trait of history with the leaders and over-rulers of administration, I would admonish and conjure them to deduce from thence one wholesome lesson, which is this: When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, he yet proposed to the senate, to withdraw his army on certain very humble conditions; and the matter being agitated in the senate, Marcellus the consul, and the Patrician faction in general, held it unbecoming the dignity of the commonwealth, "to treat with rebels, having arms in their hands;" so they preserved their *etiquette*, and in the course of a very few days, paid for it with the total loss of their power, and the annihilation of the liberties of their country.

Mr. Luttrell then observed, that he much approved of the amendment proposed by the noble Lord near him, [Lord Granby] but wished the amendment to have gone somewhat farther, as the minister now positively declared, "he would give up taxation," if such concession were likely to effectuate a peace. With great deference to better judgment, he should therefore presume that, after congratulations couched in terms of the utmost respect and affection to his Majesty on the birth of

of a princess and save recovery of the queen, as to which not a man present could more heartily concur than himself, he should wish to add, “humbly beseeching his Majesty, that it be an instruction to the commissioners in America to treat of preliminaries of peace, or a suspension of hostilities, as expediency may require, with any convention, Congress, or other collective body, or with any person or persons which said commissioners shall find entrusted to convey the sentiments of one or more of the revolted provinces; and to assure his Majesty, that his faithful Commons, willing to go all justifiable lengths to prevent a further effusion of blood, and to avert the dreadful calamities which accumulate on this divided empire, are earnestly disposed as a ground-work of conciliation and amity, to co-operate with the other branches of the legislature of Great Britain, in pledging the national faith, in the most explicit and sacred manner, that no taxes nor contributions whatever, should henceforward, at any time, be attempted to be levied on the colonies of North America, without the assent or concurrence of the immediate representatives of the said colonies respectively.”

Mr. Luttrell asked if any country gentleman whatever would now rise up in his place, and contend for taxation; if so, he should only say such country gentleman was fitter for St Luke's than for St. Stephen's. He did firmly believe, if taxation were once given up, and that great minister, who early in the late war saved this country from utter ruin, invited again into office, with a lenient disposition, to heal those wounds our civil distractions had made on either side the Atlantic, and with talents and a spirit equal to so difficult a contest, if irremediably and unhappily necessary to continue it, this nation might yet be saved;—we should then ascertain, whether the Americans, to a man, (as has been continually alledged by gentlemen on the other side of the house) fight for nothing short of independence; and whether, as the honourable member who seconded the address so positively insisted, “the only road to peace is through the havock and carnage of war:” for his part, clear he was, such a change of men and measures would divide the continental Congress and continental army into factions, and so far answer a wise purport; but, at all events, he fairly owned, he thought any terms of reconciliation more eligible than an exterminating war; for he observed, that subjects, thus subjugated, could only be treated in one of the three following ways: You must better their condition, which he presumed nobody could

suppose these ministers, with their scalping savages and German assassins, to have at all in their contemplation: If you refuse to better their condition, would you rule them by a military force? If you attempt it, you assuredly effectuate the third piece of policy, which is extermination; for, believe me, the American settlers will rather emigrate, by whole provinces, far as New Mexico or California, or even to those ice-bound islands lately discovered near the south pole, than submit to military power; and your best hope will be, to begin to colonize that vast and fertile continent quite anew, and for more auspicious ends, with your Hessian and Brunswick hirelings, who escape the conflict, and their fruitful trulls. Mr. Luttrell asked, if what the Earl of Chatham had foreseen last season had not actually come to pass? He told you that the fair promises of the vernal season would surely end in autumnal disappointments. Mr. Luttrell then compared the conduct and catastrophe of General Burgoyne, at the head of the northern army in America, with that of Charles the bold Duke of Burgundy, when he issued the most severe proclamations against the brave Switzers in the Canton of Berne, looking upon them as already conquered; he carried with him chains to lead them captive at the feet of his cavalry, and he gave them notice, that he would cause to be erected the most stately monuments to his martial fame, in the very heart of their country; Sir, he fulfilled his promise; a monument they erected for him in the form of a charnel-house, filled with the skulls and skeletons of the invading army, which was totally overthrown through the intrepidity of the Swiss peasants near the town of Morat, and the victors furnished his monument with this emphatic inscription: "*Carolus Burgundiæ dux inclitus hoc sui monumentum reliquit,*" &c. &c. Mr. Luttrell said it was probably but in vain to hold up such bloody scenes, *in terrorem*, before the hardened authors and conductors of this unnatural quarrel; Mr. Speaker might as well put an hungry leech on the richest vein of his body, and counsel with it not to draw blood, as to talk with these contractors, pay-masters, treasurers, commissaries, and a long list of *et ceteras*, who traffic thus lucratively with the calamities of their country, to relinquish their hold, and confess their ambition and their rapacity satisfied. The minority therefore, of which he should certainly be one, had only to lament, that a sovereign, so moral and pious as ours now on the throne, so humane and so generous, so capable of governing a free people with honour, prosperity and re-

nown,

down, should already have sacrificed one half of his dominions, and desperately hazard the loss of the one half, to cherish and aggrandize a more immoral and profligate, a more tyrannical and sanguinary, and, in short, a more weak set of ministers, than ever tried the patience of the English nation, under the worst of the Stuart kings.

Before he sat down he should only add, that the worthy baronet [Sir Gilbert Elliot] who supposed the navy of Great Britain, in our home ports, to be at present more formidable than the combined naval force of France and Spain, had been grossly misinformed; but, as it was not a subject in its full extent then before the House, he should reserve a discussion of that important business to a future day.

Lord North made a short reply to Colonel Barré, and Lord North then the question being put, there appeared for the amendment 86; against it 243.

November 21.

Lord Hyde offered to bring up the report of the address of Lord Hyde the preceding day.

Sir Philip Jennings rose, and moved, That the address be Sir Philip Jennings.
recommitted.

Mr. Turner declared, as a country gentleman, who meant Mr. Turner to act entirely for the service of his constituents, that he could not agree with administration in their ideas of pursuing the present war. That he had, during the recess, taken the sense of his constituents, at one of their most general meetings at York, where he candidly asked them, whether it was their opinion that the war should be prosecuted? If it was, they had only to inform him so, and as he would ever be ready to receive their instructions, as long as he continued to have the honour to represent them, he would resign his seat, and they might chuse some other representative. However, their opinion was, that peace should be concluded at all events. He wished he had a piece of Latin to express his sentiments more fully; but, as it was, he begged leave to put a negative on the question.

Mr. H. W. Hartley objected to the question on the same Mr. H. W. Hartley principles, and intreated administration to seize the only moment they might ever have of stopping the calamities of this civil war.

Earl Nugent said, the arguments of the two last gentlemen Earl Nugent were absurd; that the contest now was, not whether America should be dependent on the British parliament; but whether Great Britain or America should be independent? Both could

could not be so, for such would be the power of that vast continent across the Atlantic, that was her independence established, this island must expect to be made a dependent province.

Gen. Conway.

General *Conway* took a wide range through the whole system of American politics; said he had been uniform in his opposition to the measures that occasioned the war, and should remain so in opposing those measures which led to a continuance of it. As to the minister's idea of the Americans laying down their arms in order to be treated with, it was the height of folly: for as a soldier himself, and bred to arms, suppose he was investing a town, the gates of which he found shut, and the walls manned, would not the proposition of "open the gates, and let me in, and then I'll treat with you," be received with the utmost astonishment and contempt? It was exactly the same, considered nationally. After condemning the use of the Indians, he concluded by declaring, before God and that awful assembly, that though the Americans might be culpable, yet, in his opinion we were far more so.

Mr. Thurlow.

The *Attorney General* admitted there was something like an argument in the General's investiture of a town; but would it not be equally ridiculous on the part of the forces without, to receive a similar proposal from those within the citadel? As to the use of the Indians, painful as such a service must be to every mind, necessity loudly demanded it; for in a contest of this nature, such is the nature of man, that every step is taken to annoy his enemy; but so far from this being the only barbarity of the present war, he had heard an honourable member boast of that enthusiasm of the rebels in Canada, who swore allegiance to the King, and then turned upon a detached party of Col. St. Leger's, and cut them to pieces. The measure, he said, was advised by a noble lord [Lord George Germaine] in the King's closet, and was approved of by the rest of administration, as an effectual means of subduing the rebels.

Sir George Savile.

Sir *George Savile* dissented from the question, from the same motives that had hitherto occasioned him to vote against government on the American war; said that the idea of convincing the Americans of their errors by their swords at their throats, put him in mind of a passage in Shakespeare, where Lady Macbeth says,

"I will with wine and wassel so convince, &c."

That his mind was fully made up upon the grand point in dispute, and though on the arrival of the late joyful news he had seen Washington shot, and hanged in effigy in the country where

where he had been, which made him believe the present measures had its advocates also out of doors, yet he would express his detestation of them, and wished, but for the honour of his friends, that his protest might stand single and alone upon the journals of the house.

Mr. *Adam* spoke next, upon the old ground in general, in Mr. *Adam*. defence of government, till he came to the matter of treaty with the rebels while in arms, to bring them back to dependence. This, he said, led him to revert to history, as an honourable gentleman [Governor Johnstone] had done the preceding night, when he begged them to consider the case of Oliver Cromwell, and ask themselves, if he had been informed that matters were accommodated between the prince and parliament, whether he would have gone back to dependence? Certainly not,---After paying Mr. Fox a compliment on the exercise of his talents, when he avoided personalities, he concluded by giving his hearty concurrence to the question.

Mr. *Fox* defended himself, and insisted upon it, that so long Mr. *Fox*. as the freedom of debate remained, his arraigning the public conduct of a minister could never be deemed personal; that he had attacked the only man responsible, the secretary of state for American affairs, though he attempted to screen himself, by saying, he was only one of the ministers who advised the measure, for in the conduct of the last glorious war, who was responsible but Lord Chatham? Would the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, or the Chancellor, have been called to an account for the consequence of mismanagement or ill-successes? No! none but Mr. Pitt, the then secretary of state for the southern department. He thanked the gentleman who spoke last, for the compliment he intended him, and, in return, assured him he had more wit than Lucian or Swift, in bringing those opposites into the same point of view, which Mr. Addison calls the test of wit. He ridiculed his historical proof of Cromwell, in inferring he would not have done a thing, because he had not done it. After this he replied to some of the Attorney-general's arguments, clearing some mistakes respecting his account of the enthusiasm of the treacherous rebels in Canada, and then sat down after dissenting from the question.

The *Solicitor General* replied to Mr. Fox; expressed his Mr. *Wed-* astonishment that the different speeches should have flown so *derburne*. wide from the matter under immediate consideration; said, that not a tittle had been advanced against the proposed augmentation of the army and navy, in order to enforce the rigorous

rous measures of another campaign, if found necessary; but that opposition had gone upon other grounds in every respect fallacious and absurd. With respect to the cessation of arms they proposed, suppose an herald was sent to the rebel camp with such a proposition, and the Americans should refuse to comply with it, what must be done? Must the British troops lay on their arms and be beaten? for both parties must agree in that cessation before it could possibly take place. He then, in order to prove the rebels' intention of independence, said he was informed by Mr. Morris, once governor of Pennsylvania, a man who appeared to him the best acquainted with American matters of any he ever conversed with, that independence was their general topic, long before the breaking out of the war. As to unconditional submission, which had been bandied so much about from the other side of the House, it was impossible to treat with an armed force, but on those terms; for so long as that military force existed, all treaty was ridiculous; and here he produced, as a case in point, the very historical circumstance which, though mentioned by Mr. Adam hypothetically, was in itself an historical fact; and wondered how the acute and lively member who spoke last, should be so little conversant with the history of those times, as not to know that the matters in dispute between Charles I. and his parliament were nearly adjusted, and that the finishing stroke was about to be put to the treaty, when the very army which the parliament had themselves raised, denied the authority of their creators, and [*addressing himself to the Speaker*] hurried your predecessor, Sir, and his mace, from the senate. After this he defended Lord George Germaine, and censured the personal attack that had been made upon him.

Mr. Rous and Mr. Burke spoke likewise in the debate.

The question was put a few minutes before 11 o'clock, when the Ayes for agreeing with the report were 175, and the Noes 47.

November 22.

The address presented.

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the humble thanks of this House, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Deeply

Deeply interested in every event which tends to increase Your Majesty's domestic felicity, and impressed with the liveliest sentiments of duty and attachment to the Queen ; we beg leave to offer to your Majesty our congratulations on the birth of another princess, and on her Majesty's happy recovery.

We assure your Majesty, that we take a sincere part in the confidence which your Majesty expresses, that the conduct and courage of your officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of your forces, both by sea and land, will, under the Divine Providence, be attended with important success. But at the same time we entirely concur with your Majesty in thinking, that it is necessary to prepare for such further operations as future events, and the contingencies of the war, may render expedient. And we learn, with much satisfaction, that your Majesty is for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping your land forces complete to the present establishment. And whenever your Majesty shall be pleased to communicate to us any new engagements, which you may have entered into for encreasing your military force, we will take the same into our consideration. And we trust your Majesty will not be disappointed in the gracious sentiments which you entertain of the zeal and public spirit of your faithful Commons.

We are truly sensible, that your Majesty's constant care for the welfare of your people, and your generous concern for the happiness of mankind, dispose your Majesty to desire, that the peace of Europe may not be disturbed : but we acknowledge, with equal gratitude, your Majesty's attention to the security of your kingdoms, and the protection of the extensive commerce of your subjects, in having made a considerable augmentation to your naval force, on which the reputation and importance of this nation must ever principally depend. And we hear with the highest satisfaction, and rely with perfect confidence on your royal declaration, that your Majesty will always be the faithful guardian of the honour of the British crown.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will without delay enter into the consideration of the supplies for the ensuing year ; and that we will chearfully and effectually provide for all such expences as shall be found necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms, and for the vigorous prosecution of the measures in which we are engaged, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordi-

nation, which we trust, with the blessing of God, your Majesty will be able to maintain through the several parts of your dominions.

We acknowledge with equal gratitude and admiration your Majesty's paternal declaration, that you will be ever watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of your subjects, and the calamities of war.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we cannot but still entertain a hope, that the discernment of their true interests, the remembrance of the blessings they once enjoyed, and the sense of their present sufferings under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will induce the deluded and unhappy multitude to return to their allegiance, and will reanimate their hearts with a spirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country.

The gracious and condescending manner in which your Majesty expresses your desire, that you may be enabled to restore peace, order, and confidence, to your American colonies, cannot fail of endearing your Majesty to the hearts of all your subjects : and we assure your Majesty, that when this great work can be accomplished, and settled on the true principles of the constitution, your Majesty may depend on the most zealous concurrence and support of your faithful Commons.

His Majesty's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my hearty thanks for this dutiful address.

The affectionate part you take in the happy recovery of the Queen, and the increase of my family, is highly acceptable to me.

The steady and zealous support of my faithful Commons, will, I trust in God, enable me to put an end to this unhappy rebellion. Whatever strength you shall place in my hands, shall be employed only for the good of my people, and the welfare of my kingdoms ; and be assured, that I wish for success in this great national cause for no other purpose but that it may enable me to restore peace and happiness to all my subjects.

November 24.

No debate.

November 25.

No debate.

November

November 26.

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Thurlow] observed, that an act passed in the course of the last session, intituled, "An act for empowering his Majesty to secure and detain persons guilty or suspected of committing the crime of high treason in America, or on the seas, or of the crime of piracy," would expire on the first of January, 1778: that the same cause which made the law at first necessary still continued; namely, the rebellion in America; and that he therefore meant now to move for leave to bring in a bill for the further continuance of the said law for a limited time.

Mr. *Baker* said, that the law now proposed to be further continued must have had some objects in view when it was passed. It was with great reluctance he would at any time consent to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, that great security of public freedom and personal liberty. There were circumstances, however, in seasons of great national danger and public exigency, which nevertheless had called for the particular interference of the legislature, and might again justify such suspension. He never thought the present proposed bill intituled to any such public, or parliamentary sanction; yet, if it were, experience must be the best proof whether those appearances were well founded. On this ground, therefore, he should be glad to know from the honourable and learned mover, in what instances the powers, which had now for full nine months been delegated, were exercised, and what were the evils they prevented or remedied? If none could be stated, in his opinion, it would be equally wanton and unnecessary to continue them, and be a dangerous precedent in time to come.

Mr. *Burke* coincided with his honourable friend in his general reasoning, and further observed, that the bill was of the most extraordinary texture; nor were its operations, if they could be called by that appellation, less so. Here is a bill, which is to operate in every part of the British empire, against pirates, or persons suspected of treason. Your generals on the other side of the Atlantic have established a public cartel, such as is agreed to, with an alien enemy, for the exchange of prisoners. It is no general light surmise or loose assertion; we find your commanders actually pressing Mr. Washington to a faithful performance of this cartel: we are informed of a correspondence between a Mr. Hutchinson, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Washington, &c. in which, the true spirit of the cartel is controverted; but not its existence,

science, nor a professed unwillingness on either side, to comply with it. What do we behold on the other? (I do not wish to state facts from general reports, if I am wrong, I trust the learned gentleman will set me right.) Why a direct contrary conduct in Europe; Lord Stormont, his Majesty's minister at the French court, giving a very lofty answer to the American delegates residing there. He tells them, when they propose a similar cartel to that settled in America, in Europe, and an exchange of prisoners in consequence of it, "I never treat with rebels, unless to receive submission." I do not find fault with this answer; it was becoming the representative of a great nation; but I mention it only to shew the inconsistency of administration; or at least their divided opinions and conduct upon the same subject. Is rebellion in Europe different in its nature from what it is in America? Are our subjects in America taken with arms in their hands, the last stage of resistance to the civil power, to be treated as fair, open, alien enemies? and is the mere suspicion of the same crime in Europe to be treated with all the rigour due to acts of the most deliberate and inveterate treason? I suspect this bill is only to save appearances. Has any man been brought to judgment? Has any man been convicted or discharged? I have heard of none. The conduct of administration is, in my opinion, preposterous and absurd. The bill is unnecessary. It creates a power to confine people, who in the end, must come in under the faith of a cartel. Either, therefore, let the bill expire, or preserve something like an uniformity of conduct, by dissolving the cartel.

*Attorney
General.*

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Thurlow] replied, that when the bill was passed, a necessity existed. The same motives still continued. It was to hold persons in certain situations, or prevent mischies arising from acts, which in most cases must from their nature be otherwise accompanied with impunity. This, however, was not the time to dispute the propriety of the proposed law: the motion was only for leave; when it came in the form of a bill, that would be the proper time for the honourable gentlemen to make their objections.

Mr. Baker.

Mr. Baker said, that the crown had asked for powers, and obtained them; but he had not learned, that they were exercised in any one instance; but in confining persons, and obliging them to suffer a species of imprisonment, no less rigorous, cruel, and unprecedented, than disgraceful to the character and humanity of the English nation. The mis-

ries those people, now shut up in the several gaols of the kingdom, suffered, he had heard, were intolerable. He emphatically desired to know the reason, why they had not been brought to their trials, bailed, or discharged? and observed, there was a passage in the speech, of the last session, which promised, that the laws should be faithfully carried into execution; [Clerk ordered to read it.] but that, in the answer to the speech from that House, no notice was taken of that passage.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. *Buller*. I move, that 60,000 men be employed for Mr. *Buller*. the sea service, for the year 1778, including 11,829 marines. The number of ships of war to be employed is 263. [Stops. Desired to enter into particulars.] In the Mediteranean two 4th rates, two 6th rates, two sloops, and 1200 seamen.

The *Attorney General* [Mr. *Thurlow*] objected. He said, *Attorney General*. it would be very improper to let our enemies know our particular weakness or strength; that if a rupture should happen, it would disclose our whole plan of military enterprize; and would instruct our enemies, if they entertained any hostile intentions, which he was willing to believe they did not, to assail us in the weakest part. So many vessels, of so many guns and so many men, stationed here; and so many more there; what was that, but plainly pointing out the very secrets which are of most importance, and constitute the very soul of military enterprize? He was certain, the honourable member in office had mistaken the honourable gentleman who called for the explanations. It must be distribution, not detail, the latter desired.

Colonel *Barré* complained that the House should be called Col. *Barré*. upon, to vote a supply so uncommonly great, without official information, respecting the present state and strength of the navy. He thought Parliament had a right to know, as well what they were voting for, as that they were voting. He observed, that the gentleman who moved the committee was proceeding to satisfy the House; but was stopped by some invisible power or sudden suggestion, just as he had informed the committee that we had 263 ships and vessels of war. The learned gentleman was, he acknowledged, partly right, if he dreaded any information coming out which might be injurious to the nation; not but he was justified in having the question answered in the very terms the honourable gentleman in office seemed ready and willing to do. On the other hand, if the learned gentleman meant to give a preference

preference to the mode first adopted, that of telling the House that we had 263 ships of war in commission, instead of even telling us the distribution of them, and wished the House to be put off with this gross account, he should certainly take the sense of the committee on it. He was authorised to say, such a procedure was contrary to the known rules and usages of Parliament; and trusted, however compliant the House was upon every matter relative to the American war, it would never endure such a refusal, without properly animadverting upon it. He observed, that the very same gentleman, who was now interrupted in his detail, had uniformly heretofore given it, whenever desired; and he remembered that King William, with a magnanimity that does his memory honour, in one of his speeches to that House, speaking of a naval expedition, to the court of France, which miscarried, so far from concealing his intentions, promised that he would make a similar attempt the very next year.

*Attorney
General.*

The *Attorney General* said there might be policy in that; that he did not wish to hold back any information, consistent with the safety of the motion. He acknowledged his own ignorance of such affairs, and he only took it up as a matter of state; nor had he any objection whatever to the honourable gentleman in office proceeding as he thought proper; but by what had fallen from the gentleman who pressed the detail, he understood that the distribution only was what he sought.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke remarked, with great severity, upon the attempts now made to hold back every thing which had the least appearance of information.

Lord Mulgrave.

Lord Mulgrave supported the objection of his learned friend. He treated the conduct of King William as a conduct not at all applying to the present subject matter of debate. He said the magnanimity and candour attributed to that monarch by the first gentleman who spoke, was the effect of policy, not of magnanimity; it was done, most probably, to mislead his enemies, not to put them on their guard, and into a state of preparation. He said, to be sure it was a matter of no consequence. The French are well acquainted with our force, and its particular distribution: he was glad they knew it; he believed it was the best security for a continuance of their pacific dispositions.

*Mr. T.
Luttrell.*

Mr. T. Luttrell spoke strongly against the attempt, which he said was made to insult the House. The French know the state of our navy, but Parliament must not. He observed, that

that there were other better reasons than those assigned by the learned gentleman who first started the objection. They would be found not to be reasons of state, unless a concealment of what Parliament ought to know could be maintained to be so.

Lord *Mulgrave* rose, and was deviating from the subject, and alluding to something which had fallen from the last honourable gentleman; but was called to order by Mr. T. Townshend, who observed, that the matter adverted to by the noble Lord was totally foreign to the subject of debate. Lord *Mulgrave*.

The *Attorney General* insisted, that it grew out of the matter, and therefore was not disorderly; that the question before the committee was, whether such information was prudent and necessary? The honourable gentleman stated his reasons why he thought it was, and the noble Lord who was interrupted, was proceeding to combat those reasons. Mr. *Townshend*.

Lord *Mulgrave* rose again, and insisted that he was within order; that there was no question of order before the House, and however high an opinion he might entertain of the right honourable member's parliamentary knowledge, he looked upon himself perfectly justified in what he said. Lord *Mulgrave*.

Mr. T. Townshend rejoined, that the question simply arose, whether it was usual and parliamentary to enter such details; till that, therefore, was disposed of, in that single point of view, no other could possibly be entertained. If it was determined for the detail, then it would be time enough to argue it upon the point of expediency, it might, or it might not, be proper to depart from former usage. Mr. T. *Townshend*.

Mr. *Buller* said, he did not recollect it had been always usual, but he had no objection to proceed. Mr. *Buller*.

Colonel *Barré* observed, he was in the judgment of the House, whether he had sought any improper information. It was every day's practice. The noble Lord in a high military office [Lord Barrington] would on that day se'ennight, as usual, not only give the girths of the army, but their distribution. So many in Great Britain, so many in America, so many in the West-Indies, Minorca, Gibraltar, and the coast of Africa. Nay more, if called upon, he would inform the House of the non-effective, the numbers in the hospitals, &c. This according to the learned gentleman's language, would not be barely distribution, but would even disclose and reveal the whole secret and spirit of military enterprize. He added there was something in this conduct, which had a very dark alarming appearance. It was narrow and full of deceit and chicane;

chicane; it might stand the test; but it looked in its present aspect, as intended to hide great wickedness or great weakness.

Sir Hugh
Palliser.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* contended, that the detail sought by the honourable gentleman was unusual; and denied that it had been given within his memory. As to the distribution of the force, he was perfectly satisfied to have it stated. But as to the actual state of the ships, &c. it was never desired, nor could it be complied with at present, because no returns had been received since September last.

Hon. Temple
Luttrell.

Hon. *Temple Luttrell* began by observing that his Majesty, in the speech from the throne, the first day of the session, had informed Parliament, "that he had thought it adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to the naval force;" and the Commons, in their address thereupon, "acknowledge, with equal gratitude, his Majesty's attention to the security of his kingdoms, and the protection of the extensive commerce of his subjects, in his having made a considerable augmentation to his naval force, on which the reputation and importance of this realm must ever principally depend." He did not find this augmentation of the naval force particularly noticed in the address of the other House of Parliament; he hoped and expected some one man belonging to the group of ministers facing him, who had a hand in the speech, or the noble Lord who moved the address to the King, or any intelligent member of the large majority who voted for such address, would rise up and shew to the House what considerable augmentation had actually been made in the royal fleet; carrying, at the same time, in his recollection, that 45,000 men, including marines, had been voted above a twelvemonth ago, and paid for by the nation, at the rate of 4l. per month each man, ever since the first of January 1777. He presumed, that to convey the empty hulls of ships, without any essential article of military equipment, a few miles down a river, or into a dock, or along-side any of the royal yards, could with as little propriety be deemed a considerable augmentation of force, as the removal of ten or twelve thousand stand of arms from the Tower to Whitehall, if his Majesty had no prospect of being able to raise the men who were to use them. In former times, and till within these sixty or seventy years last past, it was the uniform business of Parliament to specify the rates of the ships of war to be employed, and the number of vessels of each distinct rate. Now indeed, that part of the naval arrangement was entrusted wholly

wholly to the executive power of the state : yet, to commission men of war for a costly, useless parade, when they could not possibly be sent to sea, was highly reprehensible in the ministers for our marine department. By Mr. Luttrell's calculation, the seamen and marines employed at this time in the naval service, scarcely exceed the 45,000 provided by Parliament for the service of the current year ; and he was sure it would be demonstrated, by the returns lately moved for, that at Midsummer-day last they were fewer by many thousands than the number for which the nation had been charged. The fleet in America might possibly muster about 14000 men, and he would allow between five and 6000 more for the East and West Indies, Mediterranean station discoveries in the South seas, &c. Are there considerable more than 26,000 men now employed at home for the defence of this country ? If not, explain to Parliament what is meant by the naval augmentation so much applauded by the House of Commons.

He then said he had, upon a thorough and candid investigation of the subject, found that our present ministers for the important department of the navy, who commenced their much boasted administration in error, prejudices and shameful prostitutions, continued it to this very hour on principles of obstinacy, extravagance and deceit. He would not trouble the House with a tedious detail of trifling complaints, but endeavour to make some material observations upon the constructing, arming, manning and stationing the ships and vessels of the royal navy now in commission. The first article, which took in the materials for ship-building, he should say very little to at present ; it would require a day of consideration entirely to itself ; and unless some better method for seasoning and preserving ship-timber was speedily found out, notwithstanding the illiberal reflections that had been repeatedly cast on the noble Earl's predecessor in office for not having been more successful in his attention to this object, he would venture to predict that the men of war built within these last seven years would scarce be longer-lived than those built by Lord Hawke, although the very advanced expence which had been allowed to the present board for timber went far beyond all former precedents.

The Staten oak, for which the admiralty seems to have a very strong partiality, and which, by very intelligent persons has been often proved not to answer the purposes to which

they have applied it, is yet in use: ships of the larger class have been repaired with that oak, and it has failed. I am credibly informed that the Mars, of 74 guns, found this timber so spongy and unserviceable that, while riding at anchor in the Downs, she was under the necessity of quoining (or wedging) her guns, to prevent the bolts from drawing out; and where the Staten wood has been introduced to plank the decks of ships of war, the rain has, in bad weather, penetrated through its pores and crevices, and sometimes only on washing the decks, the water has dript in, even to the hammocks in which the seamen sleep.

With respect to arming your fleet, when the House shall examine into the government contracts for armed vessels, this subject may, with propriety, be more dwelt upon. I shall just now express my satisfaction, however, that the contract for Scotch cannon is at an end; and those cannon are at length ordered to be converted into shot. Perhaps, in the country where they are made, people know a secret for firing them without bursting: with us, they have only served to kill our own sailors, whose ill fate it has been to be quartered at them. The manning of the royal navy is the grand point now immediately under your consideration. After every exertion for two years, by bounties and lure of American captures, to find seamen enough for the establishments voted by Parliament, an impress was held necessary. Whether a failure of its success has or has not been owing (as was lately hinted at in another place) to a most tender and lenient application of such extra-constitutional and savage powers I will deliver my opinion thereupon before I sit down.

When a very illustrious sea-commander presided at the admiralty, in 1770, between the month of September in that year, and beginning of February following, there were completely equipped and manned for war 35 ships of the line. In 1755, when Lord Anson presided at the board, our impress was rather more expeditious in its effects, or America had been long ago an appendage to France, without the industry of the noble Earl and that of his coadjutors in carrying on this ruinous war, to render it so by their oppression, their provoking national aspersions, and abominable doctrine, unconditional submission.

Your bounties procure few good seamen; your press-warrants, though enormously expensive, fewer still; while great numbers are daily deserting from your ships and hospitals,

to commit robberies and murders in the interior counties; and this must ever be the case, where men are kidnapped into a way of life they are perhaps totally unfit for, or with which they become disgusted. Neither humanity in the commanders of your men of war, nor a withholding of any arrear of pay, can tie them down to a continuance aboard beyond the first fair opportunity of escaping. I am assured that fifty have lately deserted from the *Monarch* while in dock, 40 from the *Hector*, and 25 from the *Worcester*; six of these are confined at Winchester for felonies, and there are two committed to Exeter gaol on a charge of murder.

We have been confidently assured by the most exalted naval character in another public assembly [Lord Sandwich] that there are thirty-five ships of the line, with their full *war* complements, ready to put to sea. Notwithstanding the stamp of such high credit and dignity, I will defy the gentlemen of the admiralty who hear me, to produce a list of twenty ships of the line out of the thirty-five, fit to put to sea, with their war establishment aboard; I mean according to the last weekly accounts sent in. You have forty-two of the line, we are told, in commission; that seven of these being lately taken in hand, have but very few seamen; that the aforesaid thirty-five have 18,173. Now, Sir, your six men of war out of the thirty-five carrying ninety guns, two men of war of eighty, and twenty of seventy-four guns each, dispose intirely of the aforesaid number, allowing but their very lowest war-complement.

That the *Ardent*, *Bedford* and other ships are well-manned, I readily admit: but what is the strength, or rather weakness, of the *Resolution*, *Terrible*, and half a score of the rest? Let us consider the state of the *Worcester*, a ship which has been many years in commission, and I suppose was as well equipped for service as the others, or she would scarcely have been chosen to go abroad last summer with the governor of Gibraltar. Being a sixty-four gun ship, she ought to have had five hundred men, yet she sailed with but three hundred and eighty-seven, and she could never have been manœuvred, had she not quartered and guarded her American prisoners; only eight men properly qualified to do duty on the fore-castle could be found, out of her whole crew, for each watch; and when she returned home with General Boyd, one hundred and seven were sent to the hospital. I am well assured, that of the remainder about one hundred were fitter for Greenwich hospital

hospital than for duty. This Worcester man of War employed the Sweepstakes tender, at a charge of between six and seven hundred pounds per ann. to impress hands, and after two cruizes in the channel got one man only.

We are however comforted with an assurance from government, that the British fleet is far more powerful in its present condition than the combined naval force of the House of Bourbon. I think the salvation of this empire depends upon our soon finding the means to render it so; but I am confident it cannot be done by the present Commissioners of the Admiralty with their press-warrants, and never-ending servitude. Is it to be supposed that the ministers of Paris, or the American plenipotentiaries at the French court, are ignorant of the real state of your navy? Or that these official impositions fabricated near Whitehall, have any better operation than the deluding and lulling into a fatal security the infatuated part of our own fellow-subjects? Believe me, Sir, it can never be. The Spaniards at the port of Carthagena are able to send out, within three weeks, twelve or thirteen sail of the line of battle, at Cadiz fourteen or fifteen sail, and at least eight or nine at Ferrol. The French at Toulon might furnish fourteen or fifteen, and at Brest and Rochfort seventeen or eighteen ships of the line. Their registers will instantly afford to that amount of seasoned and able mariners. Now, should the courts of Madrid and Versailles chuse to detach combined squadrons to the East and West-Indies from their Mediterranean departments, and keep their men of war in the ports of the Bay of Biscay, ready prepared for home and channel service, and just in the neighbourhood of these islands, dare you with that formidable land-army, which the French have on the coasts of Normandy, Piccardy, and French Flanders, while Great Britain and Ireland are utterly defenceless as to land-troops---Dare you, I say, attempt to send out a naval armament sufficient to protect your islands and settlements abroad---to secure your trade---to save Lord Howe's fleet of frigates and small craft---to cover Gibraltar and Mahon---and at the same time to cruise against the commerce of the enemy? You know it is impossible. Great-Britain, united with America, is, I admit, more than a match at sea for the the French and Spaniards joined together; but, with your American colonies allied to those powers, we must, with all the heroism of our officers and seamen, inevitably be crushed in the conflict.

Suppose

Suppose you have, at this moment, for the protection of these realms 26,000 men actually employed, deduct the commission and warrant officers, marines, servants, carpenters and gunners crews, widows-men, &c. how many will remain? Perhaps about 4500 able and 4500 ordinary seamen. That part of your crews properly called landsmen may be 6000 in addition, and the major part under the last denomination are but poor wretches indeed! A word to the lenity of the impress: Was it not exerted with such rigour on the river Thames, and its neighbourhood, that your outward bound autumnal fleets have been in general cruelly distressed for want of hands? In some of the distant and inland parts even landsmen have not been spared; eight were pressed out of an harvest field in the west of England, not one of which had ever used the sea. Will any prerogative lawyer in the House get up and maintain the legality of such an act as this? Is there a scalping, tomahawking advocate of the present bloody-minded men in office facing me, that will declare such executions of the impress-warrants to be justified on any principle of our law and constitution, or even by that old supplemental plea of a pretended state-necessity? We have seen third-rate men of war cruizing in the chops of the Channel and Irish seas, while convoys of 100 sail and upwards have been protected only by small sloops and armed merchantmen.

After what I have delivered upon these matters at large to the Committee, I would not be supposed to give my negative to an augmentation of the naval force; we must have a much stronger fleet, or the nation will tremble for its jeopardy, and I verily believe its existence. But, Sir, there will, in the course of the winter and spring months, be a very large deficiency to supply, occasioned by deaths, desertions, and natural infirmities. Begin by completing your numbers, if practicable, (which I much doubt before May or June next at soonest) to 55,000; let the nation pay for no more till these are *bona fide* in your employ; it will be then time enough, if the councils of state, from the complexion of foreign politics, shall find it requisite to add six thousand more and complete the establishment to 60,000. But, Sir, I should think it scandalously and atrociously improvident in us now to vote supplies for paying 60,000 men at 4l. per month each man; the said allowance to government fully to commence from the first of January, 1778, which is only five weeks hence. I can guess how well the ministry will dispose of the surplus money,
by

by looking into the ordinary and extraordinary charges for late years; besides, you must soon recall most of the frigates in America as unserviceable, and commission scores of other frigates, the building of which is not very far advanced. I am at present for a supply equal to 50,000 men only, at the utmost.

Colonel
Barré.

Colonel *Barré* said, it was very extraordinary that so much reluctance should be shewn about what already was contained in the papers now on the table. And does the honourable gentleman in office tell us that there have been no returns since September last? Surely before we proceed a step farther, we should be informed of the real cause of this inexcusable neglect. I always understood that the returns were received weekly.

Sir Hugh
Palliser.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* replied, that the returns he meant, were those from America, and the several distant ports.

Mr. *Buller.*

Mr. *Buller* then proceeded, observing, that he understood that the gentlemen on the other side of the house seemed contented with the distribution only, and the gross numbers of men. He said, there were one fourth rate, two fifth rates, four sixth rates, six sloops, and two schooners, at Jamaica; and one fourth rate, and four sloops, on their way thither, in all twenty-three vessels, manned by 3100 seamen and marines. [*Again interrupted.*] That at the Leeward-islands, there were eight vessels, and 1200 men; that on discoveries, there were two vessels, and 480 men; that in America under Lord Howe, there were 93 ships, six of the line of battle, and 87 frigates, &c. and 17,685 men: at Newfoundland ten vessels and 1345 seamen, and that there were at home, 42 ships of the line, 35 of which were completely manned, and 32,397 seamen; and that our whole naval force consisted of 54 ships of the line, all manned but seven, and 205 frigates, &c. and 53,872 men, marines included.

Mr. *Bayley.*

Mr. *Bayley* said, that leaving considerable connections with the island of Jamaica, he was surprized to hear the honourable gentleman from the admiralty assert, that there were 18 men of war on that station, and five others on their passage thither, containing 3100 seamen; when by the latest advices from thence, he was informed that the inhabitants had applied to the admiral for a convoy, who replied he could not then grant one, on account of the weak situation of his squadron; nor could he fix any time for doing it, until he was reinforced with more ships from England, so that it was impossible there could be any thing like eighteen men of war on that station;
and

and as to the five which were said to be on their passage to Jamaica, not one of them had yet left Portsmouth. He said, the fact, to his own knowledge, was, that there were only five or six vessels of war on the Jamaica station, and which were all sloops of very small force, except the Antelope and one frigate; so that to judge of the state of the navy from the honourable gentleman's exaggerated account of the Jamaica station, must give the House a melancholy idea of it. Mr. Bayley called on the gentleman to mention the names of those twenty-three men of war [*which he declined*] and said, that he would, on any day, prove there were not half the number; and so sure he was of it, from the many accounts he had received, that he was ready, and then offered, to lay Mr. Buller twenty-three guineas, or twenty-three hundred guineas, that he could not prove half the number of vessels of war to be on that station; or that those that were there contained half the 3100 men; and his reason, he said, for proposing such a wager was, that he thought the loss would be a just punishment upon him who was guilty of the wrong assertion. [Mr. Buller in reply, said, he would not accept his wager.] Mr. Bayley then said, that the few men of war that were at Jamaica, afforded the island very little protection, they being chiefly employed in cruizing off Hispaniola for prizes, and left the island to the ravage of American privateers, who were constantly insulting the coast, particularly the north side, and had cut vessels out of many of its ports, which had induced the inhabitants to fit out armed vessels in their own defence.

Mr. Buller entered more fully into detail, relative to the home defence. As to the deficiencies, so much relied upon by the last honourable gentleman, he presumed there were none; but if there were, the present mode of informing the House differed in nothing from what was usual. There were regular returns of the men, mustered and bore, which always shewed the real difference between those in pay and such as were wanting, which returns were signed by the captain. These returns still came further authenticated, by the master of the cheque at each yard, whose business it was to see that justice was done to the service. He entered into a consideration of several other particulars, in reply to Mr. Luttrell, to shew, that instead of a deficiency, there were now on the books 9000 men more than the vote of the last session provided for; and 10,000 at the beginning of the year

year, the numbers borne on the first of January 1777 being 38,000, instead of 28,000; and in September last 54,000 instead of 45,000: and that so far from the nine months press being ineffectual, and not producing more than three or four thousand, as had been asserted by the honourable gentleman, it actually, as had been now stated, produced upwards of 15,000 men.

*Sir Hugh
Palliser.*

Sir Hugh Palliser went over a great deal of the same ground; and affirmed, as an officer and an official man, that we had thirty-five ships of the line; were an overmatch both for the present, and in point of preparation, for the united power of the house of Bourbon. He attacked Mr. Luttrell on his account of the Spanish navy, charging him with ignorance of the subject, and said, if the honourable gentleman's assertions were founded in truth, that we had no more than twenty men of war of the line actually ready to face an enemy, he need not have employed so much time to prove, that France and Spain meant to attack us; for the fact would be, that they would have already done it.

*Lord Mul-
grave.*

Lord Mulgrave answered Mr. Luttrell, he said, as a proof of the injudicious conduct of the French and Spaniards, and how much our mode of pressing was superior to their registers, he said, that no merchantmen from any port of France or Spain could be fitted out or procure hands, but by the permission of government. The captains or masters were obliged to apply to the Bureau, an office or board somewhat answering to the description of our Custom-house; there, he said, they received not such hands as they chose, or knew were able seamen, but such as the Bureau pleased; the seamen being all retained by the King, who generally took care to keep the most skilful and expert. He informed the House of a particular fact, which came within his own knowledge, when out on his last cruize. He met with a French trading vessel in imminent distress; he gave her all the assistance in his power, without which she must have perished. After she had been set to rights, the master came aboard him, and he asked him how it happened, when he had thirty-two men aboard, that he came through mere want of skill and ability to be driven to such straits? "Because (replied the Frenchman) I have had my hands from the Bureau, who gave me such as they pleased, the very refuse; and kept all the good seamen for the use of the royal navy." Indeed the
truth

truth is, that every man there, if the expression may be allowed, is pressed in his mother's womb ; maritime districts within a certain distance of the coast, are subject to the regulations of the register ; and the inhabitants are of course enrolled, and liable to be called upon, when fit for service, to go aboard the king's ships.

His Lordship besides contended, that the thirty-five of the line were much superior to the whole naval force the House of Bourbon were able to send forth, at any short notice ; that though they had many able sea-officers, who in the beginning exerted themselves, at length it always was, and always would be the case, that they must sink and give way to our superior skill and naval power. They had frequently the advantage in the beginning, but, in the future progress of their naval operations, proved always unequal.

He complained of the infidelity of the honourable gentleman who spoke so fully on the subject ; and said, it put him in mind of the Sceptic philosopher, who denied the existence of motion, at the moment he got up and walked across the room. He censured Mr. Luttrell's not mentioning the officer of the press-gang who took the landsmen. With regard to the rottenness of the ships, he said, the fact had now no existence ; indeed, when it was found necessary to arm about six or seven years ago, several ships, which had been built at the close of the last war on a violent emergency, were found decaying ; but this had long ago been rectified ; and he averred, that the honourable member might go through Europe, and not see thirty-five ships of the line in all their ports by any means equal to those now mentioned. As to the French, he had no doubt individually they would do every thing men ought to do ; but France, as a maritime country, was in every respect despicable with respect to this ; that, to be sure, its early efforts were seasonable and spirited, but afterwards it gradually fell off, till its maritime force dwindled into nothing ; whereas this country grew progressively stronger, and he trusted, would ever bid defiance to any naval power that should oppose it.

His Lordship opposed different parts of Mr. Luttrell's speech one against another. He said, that the honourable member first decried the severity of naval commanders, as the cause of frequent desertion ; and in the same breath complained of a great desertion, caused by the indulgence

of a commander, in giving his men liberty to go on shore ; though no name had been mentioned, his Lordship said, the person alluded to (for he hated charges without names) was Captain Rowley, of the *Monarch*, a humane, good officer, who did not choose to make his crew slaves ; and that the desertion complained of produced a good effect : the health of the rest was preserved by it, as the service was freed from a number of men not to be depended on. As to impressing the harvest-men, they were perhaps seamen ; if they were not, there was a remedy for them at law. He hated to make a charge, and conceal the name of the offender. It was transferring the imputation from particulars to generals, by a new mode of logic—a sea officer had committed an offence—a sea officer is any sea officer—any sea officer is every sea officer, *ergo*, the whole navy is guilty of the charge imputed to an individual amongst them. This single argument will serve as an instance of his mode of reasoning.

Hon. T.
Luttrell.

The Hon. T. Luttrell answered the last noble Lord with great asperity ; spoke much of insolence and indecency ; and said, he could always find his way to and from the House direct ; and if any thing improper, or which required explanation, had fallen from him, or should hereafter escape him, he was always to be found, and ready to be responsible for it. He said, he was liable to error as well as other men ; but never asserted any thing which he did not believe to be true. He observed, that the noble Lord was as fat and merry as he was zealous. He could easily account for his zeal, from his connexions with the first Lord of the admiralty ; but after every thing the noble Lord asserted to the contrary, he defied any official man present to rise and say, that the whole of our seamen appointed to the manning of the line of battle ships, would furnish, for actual service, twenty men of war of the line with the proper war complement. He was sure they would not. There were, by the accounts from the two honourable members over the way [Sir Hugh Palliser and Mr. Buller] twenty-two seventy-fours, and seven second rates, in the number, including the *Foudroyant*, which, though only carrying eighty-four guns, would require to be manned as a second rate : he insisted, therefore, that 20,000 seamen were little more than sufficient to man the twenty 74 gun ships, and seven upon the establishment of second rate men of war. He charged the noble Lord with

with great difingenuity, in misrepresenting what he said, relative to the desertion of the men from aboard the Monarch, the Hector, and the Worcester. As to the Monarch, the right honourable member had endeavoured to stretch a relation of a mere matter of fact, to an imputed censure of the commander, Captain Rowley. He never meant any such thing ; he was as ready to give that worthy officer credit for his humanity as the noble Lord ; but he mentioned it only to shew the dislike to the service which prevailed, and the great want of men in consequence of that dislike.

The Hon. *James Luttrell* rose, to defend his brother on a point of seamanship, which Lord Mulgrave had brought no argument against, but with a laugh treated as ridiculously erroneous, and fitter for a landsman than a seaman to have expressed. He stated the fact as related by his brother, and then defied the noble Lord, as a seaman and an officer, to say it was erroneous ; that on the contrary, it was a proof that his honourable relation was circumstantially informed of the facts he had asserted, and was willing to satisfy officers in the House as well as other representatives, that he spoke from indisputable information, observing, that cannon which were only secure when quoined down, were unfit for action, as in all engagements they must depend on the security of the ring-bolts and soundness of the timber which held them, and if they proved defective it was no laughable matter : but he attributed the pleasantry which the House had joined the noble Lord in, to ignorance of the subterfuge his Lordship had availed himself of, when evading grounds of argument, he depended on the credit of the uniform he wore, as of sufficient weight to contradict ever such home truths when brought by a landsman in charge against the management of the navy.

He explained the bubble-bet between [Mr. Buller] a Lord of the admiralty and another member, whether or not there were twenty-three ships of war for the protection of the island of Jamaica and the trading vessels, observing that there is great want of candour in the admiralty when they represent men of war of sixty guns and paltry schooners of a few swivels under the same idea of magnitude, for the protection of that island and its trade against the enemy : that no vessels with fewer than three masts were properly termed ships, therefore no proof could possibly be given of

twenty-three ships of war appointed for the Jamaica station by any admiralty papers whatsoever.

Lord *Mulgrave*.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, he was proud to be considered by the honourable gentleman in the light of a friend; disclaimed any intention of misrepresenting the honourable gentleman's relation's words, or of taking any advantage of his ignorance of naval affairs; and, besides, gave the fullest and most willing testimony to the professional merit and abilities of the gentleman who last spoke. He did not think it quite candid, to impute any motives to any man which he did not acknowledge; because the right to recriminate, being undoubted, such charges could determine nothing on one side or the other. He denied that he took any unfair advantage of the honourable gentleman's relation [T. Luttrell] on account of his ignorance in technical expression; and as for the explanation now given, in order to clear up the matter concerning the supposed rottenness of the *Mars*, and her inability to carry her guns; however capable the honourable gentleman might be, as a professional man, there was nothing offered by him on the subject, that was not known to every person in the least conversant in naval affairs.

Mr. *Adam*.

Mr. *Adam* rose to justify the Scotch cannon from the calumny that had been thrown upon it; said he was a proprietor of the foundery, that tho' an accident had happened, and their pieces were refused here, they now served most states abroad with them, and gave such satisfaction as he hoped would enable them to regain their credit with the British ordnance.

Mr. *T. Townshend*.

Mr. *T. Townshend* objected to the motion, in the simple principle that it was in support of a war that he detested and abhorred. He then launched into a review of the conduct of administration respecting the censure they threw during the last summer, on the officers commanding in America: vindicated the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton; said he had been dishonourably superseded; that he knew the worth of that great and gallant officer; that General Wolfe, previous to his embarking for Quebec, expressed his happiness to him [Mr. Townshend] in having so able a man as Mr. Carleton his quarter-master general; adding, "If he should fall, I wish not to survive him."

He blamed the object of the war, as well as the mode of prosecuting it, and declared, he would not vote a man towards the carrying on so unjust and impolitic a war by so weak

weak an administration. He said much in praise of the officers commanding our forces in America, and censured ministry for treating their conduct slightly for some months past, by causing them to be censured by their writers in the public prints, or, at least, conniving at such unmerited slander. He insisted, that in case France should break with us, we should have not only every branch of the house of Bourbon to contend with, but likewise Portugal, and be at the same time stripped of every single ally. I ask the noble Lord, if in case of a rupture with France, we shall have a single port from Embden in the king of Prussia's dominions, to Gibraltar, open to us? Is Holland friendly? Is not Portugal in alliance with France and Spain? In fine, in such an event, which I venture to affirm is more than probable, have we a single friend, but the powerful states of Anspach, Waldack, and those several formidable allies who have furnished us with troops; who have sold us blood in return for our money,

Mr. *Burke* arose, and taking a retrospective view of the Mr. *Burke*. greatest wars which Great-Britain had to sustain during and since the reign of Lewis the XIV. shewed the House, that they were then about to vote such a naval supply when in a state of peace with every independent nation in the world, as was scarce to be equalled at times when they were at war with almost every power in Europe. When France, said he, equipped the famous armament from La Hogue, we then had not a greater number of seamen in pay, marines, Greenwich-men, &c. included, than 33,000, which cost us 1,900,000*l*. In the year 1704, the fourth year of Queen Anne's war, the same number of men were voted, which cost but 1,200,000*l*. In the year 1747, the fourth year of the war with the united powers of France and Spain, we had 40,000, at an expence of something more than 3,000,000*l*. and in the glorious year 1758, the naval establishment did not exceed by a single man, 60,000; and the whole expence attending them, including a large debt of a million, naval ordnance, stores, and 4*l*. a month per man, amounted only to 5,200,000*l*. whereas the peace establishment of the navy for the year 1778 will amount to upwards of 5,000,000*l*. This, said he, is an expence very little inferior to what we should be obliged to incur were we at war with the whole house of Bourbon, and all the maritime states of Europe. He observed, that France, merely by arming, caused as
great

great a diversion in favour of America, as if she had absolutely declared war: for she obliged us to keep forty-two sail of the line in commission at home, exclusive of the vast armament under Lord Howe.

He asked what alliances we had formed to support us in case of a rupture with the Bourbons: he reprobated the contract with the princelings of Germany as mean and humiliating, and expressed his astonishment that the ministers had condescended to the indignity of courting the alliance of a few traders in human flesh. There is, said he, an alliance which they ought to make, let the price of it be what it will; and that is, an alliance with America; the first fruit of this alliance will be a saving of an hundred sail of men of war, and 55000 soldiers, which you may immediately call home to your assistance, if you have a war to sustain against any European power. He expressed his dread, that Portugal was lost to us as an ally; that we had little to expect from Holland; and that there was not now a port from Dunkirk to Gibraltar, which would admit a British ship, if pursued by an enemy. He mentioned the affront put upon General Sir Guy Carleton, and the illiberal abuse thrown out against the Howes by the runners of administration. If ministers did not speak out directly in terms of abuse of those able and injured officers, it was well known they heartily approved of it. It furnished, during the whole summer, the standing topic of conversation at their tables. Those who had the honour to be admitted there repeated the language they heard as a part of their duty; and it was evident by the general tenor of the news-papers for some time past, which teemed with the most scandalous abuse of those brave men, who were now exerting every nerve in the faithful performance of their duty, that persons were hired and encouraged to propagate the most scandalous falsehoods, both in writing and discourse, of both Lord Howe and his brother, in order to shift the blame off their patrons' and employers' shoulders.

Ld. North.

Lord North, in reply, acquainted the House, that he knew of no reason, nor had the least to suspect, that we should lose the alliance of Portugal or Holland. As to the first, we had now a man of war in the harbour of Lisbon; and though the court of Lisbon had settled their differences with that of Madrid, on the subject of the rights of each crown in the Brazils, he knew of no further agreement or compact between them. As to Holland

Holland, the Dutch had but one object, which was commerce; this they would carry on as a neutral power, and supply the parties at war with ammunition.

They have done so at all times; remonstrances had been made against their supplying the Americans, and some of their ships had been seized; but still he had no apprehension that the court at the Hague would relax in their old friendship and alliance with Great Britain. His Lordship then explained himself upon subsidies; he denied that he had ever declared against all subsidies; he had ever looked upon the subsidies granted to foreign princes in time of peace, as a retaining fee to keep their alliance in time of war as highly disadvantageous, because those princes, after receiving the money, regulated their conduct by the political situation of affairs; but the present subsidies were highly advantageous, as they supplied us with troops upon an emergency on cheaper terms than we could raise them any other way.

His Lordship then exculpated himself from having ill used General Carleton: he bestowed the highest encomiums on his abilities, and said there were particular reasons why he recommended it to the King not to take the supreme command from Sir William Howe, though General Carleton was the senior officer; he was sure the General would not complain of it when he came home, and he should assign his reasons to him, though he could not to the House.

A remark having been made of reflections thrown out in the news-papers against public characters, Lord North said he knew nothing of them, only that they were no friends of his; for in the whole circle of the papers he was daily abused, but he despised it. His Lordship expressed his contempt of newspaper abuse, in the most energetic terms. He said, he wished a stop could be put to such infamous publications. No man held them in greater abhorrence, particularly those alluded to, not that he could ever believe, that administration, or any part, or individual of it, had a hand in them. A set of persons were employed by the printers, who would write or say any thing for hire; and unless it could be proved, that they were hired by administration, he thought it extremely unparliamentary and unfair, to lay their calumnies at the door of those, who, he verily believed, were totally innocent of the charge. He observed, it had been said, that those calumnies were propagated by persons, who dined and conversed with ministers.

ministers. He could answer, so far as the charge could be supposed to affect him, it was false; and if he knew of any person, who frequented his table, and repeated what he heard, much more, what he did not hear there, he would take care he should never again be furnished with a like pretence.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Charles Fox* insisted, that the resources of the nation, however great, could never answer the vast expences we must always undergo, if we are obliged to follow the example of France, and fit out fleets whenever she thinks proper to arm. There was a time, he said, when a British ministry would insist, that the enemies of their country should first disarm, before they laid up their ships; that time, however, was no more; and the faithful page of history, he observed, would hand down to posterity, the pusillanimity of a minister, who consented to set Spain the example of disarming; though the honour of the navy, and consequently of the nation, had been violated, when the rudder of an English man of war was forcibly taken from her at Port Egmont. He said, the minister, by not bringing the printers of the abuse against the Howes to justice, gave reason to think that he approved of it. That the publisher of an advertisement relative to a charity, was pursued with the utmost rigour, whilst the defamers of our generals and commanders were suffered to go unpunished.

The motion was agreed to without a division.

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* presented the bill to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

Mr. Baker.

Mr. *Baker* said, he intended to have made his opposition to the introduction of this bill, but he was prevented by the hurry in which it was brought into the House: as that was no longer in his power, he would oppose it in the present stage, and accordingly moved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to order a correct return and full description of all the prisoners, with an account of the prisons in which they are confined in America, as well as Great Britain, together with copies of their several commitments, and the bail, &c. offered for their enlargement, and all other proceedings of his Majesty's privy council, in consequence of the power vested in them by the late bill, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, to be laid before this House.

Mr. *Cornwall* wished to know what were the consequences Mr. *Corn-*
the honourable gentleman wanted to draw from the desired *wall.*
information.

Mr. *Baker* replied, that having reason to imagine that there *Mr. Baker.*
were few or none taken up by virtue of the suspension of that
act, it was clear to him that the act had been in the first in-
stance useless; and that consequently, it was unnecessary to
renew or continue it: his object therefore was to prove, from
official information, that the act had not had any effect; that
no reason existed which could demonstrate that there is any
greater cause now to renew it, than there had been at first to
enact it; and that consequently it would be an unjustifiable
measure to suspend the operation of so important an act as the
Habeas Corpus is to the subject.

Sir *Grey Cooper* replied, that such an enquiry was unneces- *Sir Grey*
sary, and indeed nugatory, for it was impossible for admini- *Cooper.*
stration to force the bill into operation, if the parties, who
might think themselves aggrieved in the first instance, de-
clined to avail themselves of that mode of redress which the
bill held out. There was nothing new in the suspension of the
Habeas Corpus law; it had been frequently suspended since the
Revolution when the exigencies of public affairs required, first in
King William's time, and afterwards in the years 1715 and
1745; but if the honourable gentleman wished to know the
names, numbers, and other particulars stated in his motion re-
lative to those unhappy persons, he for his part had no objec-
tion whatever.

Mr. *Baker* answered, that the proposed object of his motion *Mr. Baker.*
was simply this; that the enquiry of the House should be co-
extensive with the exercise of powers it had delegated to the
crown. He drew this inference from what had been stated
by the last honourable gentleman, that there were many na-
tive Americans under confinement for treasonable practices,
but not one of the natives of Great Britain, which was the
strongest argument of the inutility of the act, and the best rea-
son, why it should now be permitted to die a natural death, as
being totally unnecessary.

Mr. *Welbore Ellis* begged leave to speak a little in reply, to *Mr. Welbore*
shew that the matter ought to be viewed in a much more fa- *Ellis.*
vourable light than that in which it appeared to the gentleman
who spoke before him. He said, that the motive from which
he acted when he gave his assent last session to the suspending
the act, was not so much to punish as to prevent rebellion;
few persons indeed, he confessed, had been taken into custody

in consequence of it; but then it must be attributed, he said, to the terrors of imprisonment, and the other consequences that might ensue; and that if few persons had been confined, it was a proof that few crimes, against which the act was levelled, had been committed. Hence he inferred, that the suspension had awed many disaffected subjects into obedience and fidelity, and shut the door against domestic rebellion; that as it had prevented the commission of numberless rebellious acts, so he concluded it must continue to operate in the same manner, and prevent in future, equally as well as in the past; that therefore he could not but justify the measure of still keeping the bill in being, that the same happy effects may not cease to be felt.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* was warmed at the idea of suspending the Habeas Corpus, merely that rebellions might be prevented: the same argument might hold good to eternity, and continue the suspension of that important act to the end of time. The fence of liberty might be cut down, and Britons deprived of their most valuable privileges, if this mode of reasoning should be approved by the House. The same cause that obliges the act to be passed this session, may produce a similar effect the next one, and thus defeat the purpose of the most valuable law we have. He implored, he entreated the House, if there was still one spark of genuine patriotism to be found in it, that they would now stand forth the guardians of their country's rights, assert their liberties, and crush the infamous bill that was to be the instrument of their slavery, in the first instance.

Mr. Welbore Ellis. Mr. *Welbore Ellis* stood up again, and expressed himself surprised that the honourable member should fly into such extremes, and draw inferences which he did not think the premises could justify; truth and virtue, he said, were generally to be found in the midway, between the two extremes; and no political or metaphysical proposition could be advanced, which, (if pursued to the utmost limits that refined reasoning could stretch it to) would not terminate in an absurdity. He never meant that a continual suspension should be grounded upon this temporary one; nor could he see the least danger that such a measure would ever originate from it.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* again rose up, and confessed that truth was not to be found in the extremes; that he did not want to drive him to the argument *ad absurdum* in any metaphysical question; but in this political one he would wish to pursue him to the

the utmost verge of reasoning, till he should give up a measure pregnant with our ruin.

The land-tax, he observed, was introduced as a temporary revenue, and by that means granted by the House: the army was at first voted for one year only: but now your army, said he, is a standing army; your land-tax is a standing revenue to maintain this standing army; and this suspension may become a standing suspension, and consequently, the eternal suspension and destruction of the Habeas Corpus.

Mr. Fox said, When the first motion was made to suspend the Habeas Corpus, it was declared by the favourers of the bill to be a most harmless, mild and innocent measure; now it is confessed to be armed with the greatest terrors; to be able to awe the subject into submission, and terrify him into obedience: it was scandalous, it was infamous, to endeavour to conceal the dreadful effects that must naturally flow from such an act, and an indignity offered to the House, to attempt to deceive by such thin disguises. Mr. Fox.

Mr. Baker's motion was agreed to.

Sir Charles Whitworth was then ordered to make his report of the committee of supply, which he was about to do, when

Mr. Temple Luttrell arose to oppose it: he said, when this important business was yesterday agitated in the Committee, I thought it necessary to call upon the ministers for the present state and condition of the British fleet previously to our voting so very large and expensive an augmentation as is now asked for. I asserted, and do still maintain, that this nation has been atrociously defrauded and deceived by imposing fictitious accounts, advanced merely upon verbal faith, without the proper official testimonials, which, whensoever so enormous an expenditure of the public grants comes in question, it is our duty to have laid upon your table. I accused the ministers of obtaining large sums of money by votes of Parliament for the naval departments, which money has, to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds, not been applied to the specific purposes for which it was allowed and granted by the legislature. Advancing in the Committee positive and clear facts upon this head, I was replied to by disingenuously mis-stating my allegations, or by grimace and buffoonery; and contradictory assertions were urged from the seeming authority of a few loose official scraps of paper squeezed up between the fingers. I ask for, and I expect the proper parliamentary vouchers for the due application of the money Mr. Temple Luttrell.

money of the people. The honourable member [Mr. Buller] over the way has stated the number of ships and vessels of war actually employed at home for the protection of these islands to amount to 105---and asserts, that they have one with another 300 men each, and upwards---in all 32,397. He has likewise stated 23 ships and vessels of war in Jamaica, carrying one with another 140 men each.

Sir, I venture, upon undoubted professional and other information (and which I would frankly disclose to the House, were not ministerial vengeance to be apprehended) that we have no such force, nor any thing like it; by the honourable member's own state of the ships in the British ports, and in the Channel, it cannot be. It has been admitted by the Admiralty, that you have only 18,040 in the 35 ships of the line equipped for sea, and that the other seven (in all 42 of the line) have but very few men. Now, supposing 63 frigates and sloops of war, as mentioned by the Lord of the Admiralty over the way, their full war complements would not exceed 6000 men; where then are the remainder of the 32397? Are they upon the impress service? To ascertain the truth of this discussion, and that those persons of us who really impose, or attempt to impose thus wickedly upon Parliament and the nation, be detected, I humbly move, "That the last weekly accounts received at the board of admiralty from the admiral or commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels of war at the several ports of Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Chatham, together with the state and condition of the ships and vessels of his Majesty's navy employed on channel service, or on the coasts of Great Britain or Ireland, be laid before this House."

Perhaps, Sir, such gross impositions may by ministers be ranked as *piæ fraudes* at this dangerous crisis; and might be justified, could they deceive our enemies as effectually as they do our own countrymen; but, Sir, if our ministers are asleep, and the British nation asleep, the French and Spanish governments are not. It is observed by Montesquieu, that great state convulsions are usually preceded by a national lethargy. Some very serious convulsion must, in the nature of things, soon happen in these islands, to bring the authors and conductors of this calamitous war, and of all the mischiefs attending it, to condign punishment, or our empire can never be restored to any degree of its former prosperity and lustre. Before I sit down, will any gentleman here contend, that the greater part of the 35 ships of the line having been already upon cruizes in
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the Channel, is a proof of their having their complete war complement of men aboard? They could not even have navigated their ships in security, putting a war out of the question, unless they had been supplied with a considerable number of hands from the proper complements of the men of war in the fleet at Spithead, or been assisted by their American prisoners.

Mr. *Bayley* remarked, that the House had been informed, *Mr. Bayley.* that twenty-three sail of men of war were on the Jamaica station, and that they had upwards of 3000 men on board: That he doubted the truth of the information, and went this day into the city to get some lights on the subject: that he had learned that the accounts given to the House were not true; that there were not above ten men of war on that service; and that if there were twenty-three vessels on the station, the remainder of them were tenders or small craft, some without either men or guns.

Mr. *T. Townsend* said, he had asked the noble Lord in the *Mr. T. Townsend.* blue ribbon, what it was he wanted with so great a number of seamen? and told him that it was surely the least that could be required of him, to let the people know for what purposes they were to pay their money---that he had received the most extraordinary answer, that perhaps ever was given by a minister, which was, that the House had agreed to support what measures the King might think proper to adopt, and therefore such a question was now needless. Here is a doctrine, he said, was quite new; the first day of a session was the only day for debating, and their address to the King bound them to grant implicitly, and without any enquiry into the expenditure, such sums as the minister should think proper to require.

Lord *North* arose to exculpate himself from the charge made *Lord North.* by the honourable gentleman, that he had laid down new doctrines to the House, which he forced them to adopt. I do not recollect, says he, to have said any thing on which such a charge could be grounded; this I am sure of, that I never meant to dictate to this House: if I attempted it, this House would not bear it, but resent such presumption as it deserved; I know what its resentment is, and therefore am very cautious not to become the object of it.

If I did not give the honourable gentleman my reasons for making so great a demand, it was by no means from want of respect for him, but because I thought they were so obvious and notorious to every one, that a detail of them must be absolutely unnecessary: nay, the gentleman's own speech shewed plainly, that he was not ignorant of them.

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The honourable member said, that notwithstanding the professions of friendship from France and Spain, it was still his opinion they meant to be at us: there was one reason for arming. He said, that Ireland had no land forces to defend herself in case of an invasion: there was another reason. In a word, it would be needless to enumerate all the reasons that could be adduced to justify the measure.

He observed, that much stress had been laid by gentlemen on this particular observation, that in the year 1759 we had only 60,000 seamen to fight against almost all Europe. In this they laboured under a great mistake. In that year, indeed, no more than 60,000 men had been voted; but there were then in actual service full 84,000; and by the seizure of the French sailors at Newfoundland we had in the different prisons of Great Britain 20,000 of their seamen: that there is a greater necessity for a strong armament, now in case a war should break out with the House of Bourbon, than at that period, as they have since that time united themselves so closely by the Family Compact, that if we declare war against one of them, we must fight them all.

He did not think that the different powers were insincere in their professions of neutrality; but there was a certain degree of confidence which should never be given to the words of any man, and that therefore it was prudent to guard against the worst; he did not say, the whole number of men then required, would be positively taken into pay; but that as he did not like to incur a navy debt, he proposed the greatest number that could be supposed to be wanted,

The report of the committee was then called for, delivered in by Sir Charles Whitworth, and passed the House.

Mr. Luttrell. Mr. *Luttrell* then made his motion, which was, that the last weekly accounts received at the Admiralty from the commander in chief at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, together with the last accounts from the commanders of such ships as are on channel service, or on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, be laid before this House.

Mr. Bayley. Mr. *Bayly* seconded the motion.

Mr. Penton. Mr. *Penton* opposed it, as tending to give our enemies too great an insight into our affairs.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* said, that if upon enquiry, it should appear that we have 33,000 men in actual service for home duty, it will be news which our enemies will hear with grief and despair: that it were useless to withhold the papers moved for from that consideration, as it is more than probable that they are

are as well acquainted with the matter as ourselves; the noble Lord, he said, has told us he knows what the resentment of this House is: there I must beg leave to contradict him: he knows only the complaisance, the indulgence, the submission of this House; its resentment he is still a stranger to.

Governor *Johnstone* expressed his disapprobation of turning Gov. *Johnstone* heavy merchantmen into men of war, and employing them as *stone* convoys, when they were not able, from their unwieldy shape, to run so fast in pursuit of an enemy, as a light built frigate would.

He said, it was but a poor pretence for withholding the papers, lest our enemies should get intelligence from them of our affairs, when no papers were asked for, but such as contained matters well known to, and attested by, every boat-swain, carpenter, &c. in the navy: the information required could be easily obtained, he said, through some other channel; but then no arguments could be drawn from it, as it could not be said to be official.

Lord *North* said, he had no objection, because he was cer- Lord *North*tain the enquiry would redound to the honour of those to whom the care and direction of the navy was intrusted. He indeed saw no occasion for any such enquiry; for he believed that Parliament might safely trust to the information which had been already officially given.

Colonel *Barré* humourously observed, that if the House Col. *Barré* trusted solely to details held out in loose conversations, he feared, it would happen to them, as it once happened to a countryman, who met with a disaster in an amorous rendezvous, and being asked, how he came to be so miserably deceived. ‘ ‘Zouns, man, who would have thought it, she was dizened out with a huge deal of finery, and covered all over with zilks and zattins.’

Sir *Hugh Palliser* perceiving that the noble Lord in the Sir *Hugh* blue ribbon thought differently from him and his colleague in *Palliser* office [Mr. Penton] acquiesced, though he said, he thought the motion unnecessary. He read some accounts relative to the fleet now in commission for home service. He begged leave to set gentlemen right with regard to the number of men on board that fleet: he had never informed the House, that they were 33,000; he only said, that the full complement was 33,000: there were, he said, by the last week's return, upwards of 18,000 men, exclusive of 1500 marines on board the thirty-five ships already fitted out; and that, by supplying the deficiencies from the supernumerary men, there would

would be more than the compleat complement of that fleet.

The question being put, Mr. Luttrell's motion was carried without a division.

November 28.

The order of the day being read, that the House do resolve itself into a committee of ways and means to grant to his Majesty a land-tax for the year 1778, of four shillings in the pound upon all lands, tenements, &c. within England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and a proportionable rate thereof upon lands, tenements, &c. in Scotland,

Sir Charles
Whitworth.

Sir Charles Whitworth took the chair of the committee, and stated, that the land-tax for the year 1777 amounted to 2,140,000l.

Lord North.

Lord North moved the resolution.

Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. Whitbread complained greatly of the inequitable mode of assessing and levying the land-tax, and begged the committee to take it into their most serious consideration. Since the addition of one shilling in the pound was laid upon lands, the whole was raised on some estates agreeable to the old assessment, and some agreeable to the new, by which estates in general were most unfairly and most unevenly taxed. As an instance of this truth, he declared, that he had one estate in Lincolnshire, of 180l. yearly value, for which he paid no more than 16l. a year land-tax; and another estate in Leicestershire, for which he paid the sum of 50l. yearly, though the rental of both were nearly equal. This great and specific difference, arising from the one estate paying to the rate of the old assessment, and the other to the new; he would therefore, he said, humbly move as an amendment to the vote for the present year's supply, and as an equal, fair, and impartial mode of taxing the landed property of the kingdom, that the bill should pass for three shillings in the pound, to be raised on every estate agreeable to the old assessment, and that a new assessment be made throughout the kingdom for the additional shilling.

The Chairman observed, that the motion before the House was not about the mode of assessing, but whether 4s. and no more shall be the land-tax for the ensuing year.

Mr. Baker.

Mr. Baker said, the honourable member's observation was worthy of the attention of the House, it was not against the proposed resolution, but against the mode of assessing. His intentions were plainly when the tax demanded an additional shilling, that a sum of money should be raised on the lands under

under-rated, till the assessments were equal throughout the kingdom, and the deficiency, if any should remain, to be fairly and proportionably levied on all the lands in the kingdom---For his part, he should go farther, for whether the land-tax were laid at above or under three shillings, he was of opinion, that justice would never be done, till an equal, and of course an equitable manner of rating all property subject to the land-tax was adopted.

Lord *Ongley* said, the fact was true, but the conclusion *Ld. Ongley.* called for a further explanation. Those who derived titles from their ancestors, were most certainly bound by their acts; and such as purchased gave a price proportioned to the mode which prevailed in the country or place where the lands or estate lay. The honourable member who spoke first furnished him with an argument against what he advanced; for if he was to purchase in either of the shires mentioned, he would be glad to know from that gentleman, whether he would give as great a price in a county where the tax was collected to the full extent, as where it did not pay perhaps above half or a third of the real value; certainly not: the burden on the land was always estimated and allowed for out of the full purchase.

Colonel *Barré* addressed himself in nearly the following *Col. Barré.* words to the Committee: I rise to trouble the Committee with a few sentiments on the question of the day. Not a single country gentleman has risen to speak of peace, or to complain of war. Their supineness, or their acquiescence, deserves the severest reprehension. If they are blind to the distresses of their country, they ought to be awakened; if they are ignorant, they ought to be informed; if indolent, they ought to be aroused. In a few words, I will shew them the extent, the magnitude of the present calamitous war, the effects it has produced, and the expectations we are led to entertain of it. No less a sum than 13,000,000 of money was voted by this House for the service of the war for last year; a sum equal to any ever necessary, ever requested, ever granted for the service of any foreign war from the Conquest up to this day, excepting alone, the grants for the four last years of the late war with the House of Bourbon, and the grants for one single year more, in the year 1711, in the reign of Queen Anne, when a very large sum of the national debt was paid off, and many considerable public services performed. This year we have already voted more than 3,000,000*l.* for the navy. On Wednesday we shall vote 3,000,000*l.* more for the army; and in due course, the other votes will pass for a sum equal to that

that of last year. Such are the effects of this American war. Let us view the expectations: are we, by conquest, to be relieved from this immense burden of taxation? No; there is no conquest aimed at; we wish not to subdue the Americans for the purpose of drawing a revenue from the country: our administrators say that is not the object of the contest; they own that the Americans will not be able to bring a revenue into our Exchequer. We mean alone, it seems, to reduce them to obedience, for the sake of national honour. We exercise every effort of warlike oppression against them, because they will not crouch at our feet, and make the first submission. This is a war of punctilio, not of profit; and we may fairly conclude, that even after its adjustment, we shall be nearly as much taxed to prevent, as we are now to maintain war.

It has of old been the custom of this House to enquire for, and to require such papers as were deemed of consequence. On this day, in particular, it was usual of old to call for particular accounts of the arrears of the land-tax; of the neat receipts, of the names of the receivers; of what part they had paid into the Exchequer, and of what part was remaining in their hands. But of late, I am sorry to say it, we have made no such requisitions. Necessary as they are to the security of our constituents, we have either neglected or not dared to do it. Such requisition, however, shall be made. If no worthier person rises to demand them, I will whenever the Speaker resumes the chair; and in the mean time shall with sorrow repeat, that no country gentleman has risen this day to ask or to wish for peace.

Ld. Ongley. Lord *Ongley* went into a relation of the motion made the first day of the session for a cessation of hostilities. He laughed at its absurdity, and said, should any such measure be adopted, it would most certainly be imputed to a consciousness of our inability to support the war, or of the injustice of its commencement; and he hoped no gentleman would wish for either. He observed, that the country gentlemen had been called upon by the last honourable gentleman who spoke, and who had taken such pains to exaggerate the expence of the American war, and compare it with that of former wars. This, in his opinion, was wide of the question, and proved nothing. We were contending for a right, which if relinquished in the manner wished by those who opposed the present measure, would most certainly terminate in the loss of America, and ultimately end in the
insigni-

insignificance, and consequent ruin of this country. The honourable gentleman, took it for granted, that though we should prevail and establish the right, all expectations of revenue were no more. To persist therefore, is to only contend for a point of honour; to fight for a punctillio, without the least prospect of profit. I beg leave to differ from the honourable gentleman; I contend a right established, and not meant to be exercised, is no right. We are heavily taxed ourselves, and it is but reasonable that when we shall compel the colonies to return to their duty, that they should contribute in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, in support of that government, whose protection they will equally partake of. The right honourable gentleman says, that a war with France and Spain, is inevitable. I doubt it much, if for no other reason, but because we are so well prepared to defeat their designs. But granting every thing that may be advanced on that supposition; in such an event the worst that can then happen, will be to withdraw our troops and fleets from North America, and attack our foreign enemies. Here the House grew extremely disorderly, and continued so much so, till the noble Lord sat down, that scarcely any thing he said, was heard, or attended to.

Sir *Herbert Mackworth* minutely elucidated the motives Sir *Herbert Mackworth*. which first gave rise to the American war, enumerated the still stronger motives for its progress; and expatiated largely on the conduct of those members whose opposition to the present measures had irritated the Americans. That he was convinced there was not a single gentleman in the House but wished for peace with America; but then, says he, how is peace to be obtained? It has been said, by persuasion; but by what arguments can you persuade people who say, "we will kill you or you shall kill us;" in such a case we are entirely on the defensive. Government, said he, have left every opening for a conciliation. What more can be done? terms of peace would be gladly accepted, and as far as consistent we met them, but what can be said of those people who enlarge a breach of loyalty; as such undoubtedly was the fact. It is well known to many gentlemen in this House, that America waited with the utmost impatience for every argument made use of here by her advocates, and with eagerness embraced every suggestion started in her favour; it is this, and to this above every thing, was owing the proclaiming independency, as they were taught to believe that they had the sanction of men who could defend, by argument, the

cause that they believed they could defend by the sword. I cannot enough, says he, express the horror I feel in thinking that any man of humanity should urge the unsheathing of the sword, and still more am I shocked to find any one so unfeeling as to aggravate the arm which holds it. He then concluded with observing, that it was America continued the war with us, because were they to return to their duty, England would receive them with open arms.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile said, he rose from the desire of speaking a few words, perhaps for the last time on the subject of the American war. He thought himself well intitled to speak on this day. He was member for a body of freeholders, possessed of a large tract of landed property, and when he gave his vote for the supply called for, he appointed a large sum to government; it was his business, therefore, he presumed, to enquire into the purposes for which it was intended; it was his duty to examine the uses to which it would be applied. He said, we were determined to persist in a war with America---it had been called a just war---a necessary war---and the honourable gentleman who spoke before him had gone over the grounds of its commencement, the equity of its continuance, and the necessity of our perseverance in terms of the highest aggravation. Four several motives, says he, have been mentioned, for the commencement, progress, continuance and perseverance of the war: First, it was begun on purpose "to quell a puny insurrection." Secondly it was proceeded in "to subdue a dangerous rebellion." Thirdly, it was continued "to defend ourselves"---positively from the motive of *se defendendo*---from the fear, that if we do not kill them, they will us. And fourthly, continues he, it must be persevered in from a motive the most strange, perhaps, that ever entered into the thoughts of a rational people. He would give the whole committee, he said, two guesses, and the chairman three, and be bound that they would not guess it right. It was indeed a laughable, a ludicrous motive---it must be persevered in, adds he, "to gain their confidence." We are to beat them, it seems, in order to conciliate them. Such are the romantic reasons assigned for this war; from the conclusion of which, no benefit was to be expected, nor revenue arise; and yet upon which there had been more money expended than would have served to have purchased, taken in, cleared, inclosed, manured, cultivated, sown, and planted all the waste lands in Britain---more than would have turned all the heaths,

heaths, hills, and wastes into gardens ; and from the cultivation of which, nay, if they had been all sown with barley from the malt-tax alone, a greater revenue would have been drawn, than all the taxation that can ever be gathered from the wide continent of America. Such, he concluded, were the motives, and such the effects of this war ; and for this we were called upon to grant the present supply.

Mr. *Fox*, after commenting upon the worthy Baronet's speech Mr. *Fox*.
[Sir Herbert Mackworth] below him, spoke substantially to the following effect. The great object of the war, I understand from the noble Lord over the way [Lord Ongley] and the worthy Baronet, and consolidating both their arguments, and supposing them to contain the sentiments of the whole body of their brethren, the country gentlemen, I think, call for the following test. I would propose the two following questions to administration, and follow them by a third, to those who are looked upon to be the great support of the present measures. I wish to hear any member of administration pretend to fix a time for the termination of the present disputes ; that is, when the right so warmly contended for this night, will be established. I desire to know from any member of administration, whether he expects, even in case of the greatest success on our part, and a reconciliation or submission on the other, whether we are to expect a revenue from that country ? If then neither a period is pretended to be fixed, to the present waste of blood and waste of treasure ; and though it could, if no revenue, either to replace the immense sums we have already spent, or the enormous expence we are likely to incur, even in the course of the present campaign, the fruitful parent of perhaps twenty more, I would wish the country gentlemen, even on their own ground, to justify to themselves, or their constituents, the persisting in measures, which do not promise the attainment of a single object for which they now ostensibly give them their support.

On the Speaker's resuming the chair,

Colonel *Barré*, according to the intimation he had given Col. *Barré*.
in his speech, moved, "that the receipts of the arrears of the revenue of the land-tax be laid before the House, with an accurate account of the names of the receivers, when and how much thereof has been paid into the Exchequer, and with an exact account of the arrears remaining due by the receivers, up to Michaelmas term, 1777."

Lord

Ld. North. Lord *North* acquiesced in the motion, and declared at the same time, his readiness to give the House all the information possible ; so that the motion was carried without a division.

Mr. Baker. Mr. *Baker* then addressed the Speaker, and said, that he had further considered his motion of yesterday, and wished to extend it ; that in opposition to Sir Grey Cooper's bill, for continuing the act for the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, he moved for an humble address to his Majesty, previous to the passing of the bill, praying his Majesty to inform the House, what had been done in consequence of that act. His motion, he said, was merely co-extensive with the act. He wished, however, to enlarge his motion, and moved accordingly the following amendment : " That an address may be presented to his Majesty, praying him to be graciously pleased to give directions, that particular accounts be laid before the House, of all the persons secured and retained in any of his Majesty's gaols for the crime of high treason, since the 18th of April, the day after the battle of Lexington, which happened on the 17th, 1775, to the date of the act passed last session, for the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus act."

*Attorney
General.*

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Thurlow] said, he did not see the necessity of the enlargement ; and as every petition should have the appearance at least of some reason for the prayer contained therein, he objected to the amendment, on the ground that there was no pretence for the prayer ; and on a still firmer ground, that it was impossible accurate accounts of the transactions occasioned by the act, could be collected and laid before the House. After some trifling debate, however, the motion was carried, and such members as were of his Majesty's privy council appointed to carry up the address.

The question was put, and the resolution was agreed to, as was likewise that for granting a duty on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the year 1778.

The House rose at half after six, and adjourned till Monday.

November 28.

Sir *Charles Cocks* presented to the House the following papers.

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

71.

An Account of the Transports taken up or contracted for since September 1775 to September 1777, describing the Tonnage, and what has been paid or contracted to be paid for the same (by the Ordnance) prepared pursuant to an Order of the honourable House of Commons, dated November 24, 1777.

Dates.	Names.	Tonnage.		Paid or contracted to be paid.	Remarks.
		Tons.	Per Ton.		
			s. d.		
1775. Sept. 13.	Charming Sally	174	10	0	Taken.
	Ruffia Merchant	243	10	0	
	Hope	267 $\frac{6}{94}$	10	0	
	John and William	130	10	0	
	Noble Bounty	273	10	0	Discharged.
	Carcass Tender	130	10	0	
	Woodlands	222	11	0	
	Prince George	192	11	0	
	Helen	195	11	0	Discharged.
	Fleetwood	219	11	0	
	Devonshire	179	11	0	
	Friendship	199	11	0	
	Hopewell	339	11	0	Ditto.
	Prince of Wales	201	11	0	
	Jane	300	11	0	
	Rebecca	190	11	0	
	Cadiz Packet	200	11	0	Ditto.
	Union's Success	254	12	0	
	Samuel and Elizabeth	195	11	0	

August

Dates.	Names	Tonage.	Paid or con- tracted to be paid.		Remarks.
			Tons.	Per Ton. Per Month.	
August 1.	Nottingham	271	12	6	Armed and fitted for defence.
Sept. 2.	Priscilla	380	12	6	
	Unity	450	12	6	
	Aston Hall	370	12	6	
	Richmond	350	12	6	
6.	Lord Townshend	700	14	0	Discharged at Dominica
15.	Lord Amherst	715	14	0	Very strongly fitted and armed.
1777. Feb. 4.	Brilliant	800	14	0	Ditto.
	Price Frigate	330	12	6	Strongly fitted and armed.
6.	Lord Howe	720	14	0	Very strongly fitted and armed.
March 4.	Emanuel	160	14	0	Discharged.
9.	Andrew	300	14	0	Strongly fitted and armed.
May 13.	Speke	700	12	6	Ditto.
16.	Commerce	400	12	6	Discharged.
	Martha	320	12	6	Ditto.
	Friendship	330	12	6	Ditto.
July 25.	Earl Bathurst	700	14	0	Very strongly fitted and armed.
Aug. 7.	Earl Cornwallis	400	13	0	Ditto.
Sept. 25.	Adventurer	374	13	0	Ditto.

Navy Office of Ordnance, November 28, 1777.

CHARLES FREDERICK. CHARLES COCKS.
BENJAMIN LANGLOIS.

Navy Office, November 29, 1777.

An Account of the Transports taken up or contracted for since September 1775 to September 1777, describing the Tonnage and what has been paid or contracted to be paid for the same. Prepared in pursuance of a Precept of the Honourable House of Commons, dated November 24, 1777.

When hired.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	Rate per Ton. Per Calendar Month.		
			l.	s.	d.
1775. October	20	5621	}	0	10
November	4	1763			
December	41	14080			
1776. January	41	9819	}	0	11
February	95	23140			
March	32	8455			
April	8	1916	}	0	12
April	10	2632			
May	15	4370			
June	2	474	}		
August	7	2040			
September	1	29			
December	33	9458	}	0	11
1777. January	30	8379			
April	1	377			
May	4	1046	}		
June	1	352			
July	1	402	}		
Hired in America from 29th Dec. 1775 to 3d of June 1776	48	12457			
Hired at Amsterdam in March 1776	35	20740	}	0	11
Hired at Hamburgh in May 1776	6	3350			
	435	131120			

What has been paid
for their Freight.

l. s. d.
722433 10 2

What remains to be
paid for the same.

l. s. d.
409600 14 0

Total.

l. s. d.
1132034 4 2

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	1132034	4	2
To which may be added the following expences incurred on the transport service within the time aforementioned, viz.			
An allowance for guns and ammunition provided for the better defence of sundry Ships.	5925	0	0
Value paid for several of the ships taken by the rebels.	23456	7	11
Value of hammacoes, hoses, ventilators and other stores issued on board the several ships.	17326	12	9
Value of gun-boats and furniture, and stores for the batteaux and vessels on the lakes.	6206	11	5
Bedding for the men	—	—	—
Forage for the horses	—	—	—
Building cabins, platforms, stalls and other conveniencies on board the several ships	17775	15	8
Pilotage and light charges	2404	11	5
Pay of agents, superintendants, purveyors and others employed on transport service with their disbursements at embarkations and disembarkations, and sundry other contingencies	29458	16	10
	1265231	2	11

The whole amounting to the sum of one million two hundred and sixty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-one pounds two shillings and eleven-pence.

M. SUCKLING. J. WILLIAMS. GEORGE MARSH.
T. BRETT. R. TEMPLE.

November 29.

No debate. Adjourned to December 1.

December 1.

No debate.

December. 2.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox informed the House, that, agreeable to his promise, he moved the House, that on a future day they should form themselves into a committee of the whole House, to consider of the state of the nation. He thought it necessary,

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

75

fary, he said, to explain the meaning and extent of the several motions he meant to propose, which he would do in a very few words. He meant then, that the committee should consider the expences that the nation hath incurred from the American war, and the resources that we possess to raise the supplies necessary for its continuance. In the second place, the loss of men from that war. Thirdly, the situation of trade, both with regard to America and the foreign markets. Fourthly, the present situation of the war, and the hopes that we may rightly entertain from its continuance, and the conduct and measures of the present administration, of a lasting peace, and also our present situation in regard to foreign powers. And fifthly, to consider what progress Sir William and Lord Howe have made in consequence of the powers intrusted to them as commissioners, by an act of the sixteenth of his present Majesty's reign, for granting pardons, &c. for the purpose of bringing about a peace between Great Britain and the colonies. Under these general heads, many other enquiries would arise, and it would be the business of the committee to follow every path that promised to lead to a thorough investigation and discovery of the state of the nation. If, continues he, it appears that the nation is in a bad state, and that the late and present measures of administration have reduced us to an extremity, which he was afraid they certainly had, a new system must be introduced, and a new set of ministers appointed; but if, on the contrary, the nation should be found in a flourishing state, and the present measures likely to prove successful, the present system should be by all means continued, and the present ministers remain in power; for none, he was assured, but the present ministers, could prosecute the present system.

Lord North said he cheerfully agreed to the motion of Lord North. the honourable gentleman, and would do all in his power to promote the great end he had in view. Nothing, he said, would give him more true delight, than to convince the House that the state of the nation was much more flourishing than many of the opposite side actually did, or affected to believe. At the same time he hoped to be understood, that his ready compliance with the motion should preclude him from the necessity of laying papers before the House that that might prove inconvenient, dangerous, or hurtful to government.

The motion having passed without a division,

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox rose again, and moved, that the second of February next be the day appointed for the committee to meet, to consider the state of the nation. He also moved, that there be laid before the House, "An account of all the troops, foreign and domestic, that were or had been engaged in the British service since the first of November, 1774." Also, "A list of all the ships of war, sloops, and vessels, that have been engaged in the service, the numbers that have been taken, lost, or destroyed, with the exact returns of men killed or taken prisoners, from the first of November, 1774." Also, "The last general returns of all the hospitals belonging to his Majesty in North America." Also, "A list of all the ships of war employed by government as convoys to the trading fleets of this country." Also, "Copies of the last general monthly returns of all the troops in his Majesty's service within Great Britain." Also, "Copies of the returns of the troops in Ireland; and copies of the returns of all the troops in North America and the West Indies." All these motions passed without opposition. He then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that there be laid before this House, copies of all such papers as relate to any steps taken for the fulfilling of that clause of an act, passed in the sixteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An act to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, during the continuance of the present rebellion within the said colonies respectively; for repealing an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachuset's Bay,; and also two acts made in the last session of Parliament, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies in the said acts respectively mentioned; and to enable any person or persons appointed and authorised by his Majesty to grant pardons, to issue proclamations in the cases and for the purposes therein mentioned;' by which, persons appointed and authorised by his Majesty are empowered, under certain conditions, 'to declare any colony or province, colonies

or provinces; or any county, town, port, district, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his Majesty ;' and also that his Majesty would be pleased to direct, that a return of such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, in any colony or province, as has or have been declared to be at the King's peace (pursuant to the powers of the said act) be laid before this House."

Lord *North*. rose in opposition to this motion ; he said he Ld. North. must object to it from the reason that papers produced during the existence of a negotiation, if any had taken place, must be very injurious to the cause. He was ready and willing to grant every reasonable information in his power ; but he could not consent that discoveries should be made prejudicial to government, and to the true interests of this country.

Mr. Serjeant *Adair* said, he could not see what discovery Mr. Ser- could be made in the least injurious. None was called for jeant Adair. that the Americans did not know already. They must only be withheld, he presumed, because they might prove injurious to administration from being known to the House of Commons.

Mr. *Stanley* objected to the motion for several reasons. Mr. Stanley. Negotiations, he said, to rebels in arms, must be made not to the people at large, but to select bodies, perhaps to individuals ; and the discovery of such bodies or men, might draw upon them the vengeance of the others. But in truth, he said, he knew not that any negotiation had been entered into. With rebels in arms, standing up for independence, no treaty of conciliation could be made. The very proposition acknowledged their independence.

Mr. *Burke*. observed, that he never heard the noble lord Mr. Burke. [Lord North] behave with so much candour, generosity, and spirit, as to-day ; he had agreed to every tittle of his friend's request ; he had published a bond wherein he granted all ; but in the end was inserted a little defeasance, with a power of revocation, by which he preserved himself from the execution of every grant he had made. His conduct, he said, reminded him of a certain governor, who, when he arrived at his place of appointment, sat down to a table covered with profusion, and abounding with every dainty and delicacy that art, nature, and a provident steward could furnish ; but a pigmy physician, who watched over the health of the governor, excepted to one dish, because it was disagreeable ; to another, because it was hard of digestion ;
to

to a third, because it was unhealthy ; and in this progressive mode, robbed the governor of every dish on table, and left him without a dinner ; alluding to Cervantes' humorous account of Sancho Panza, in his government of Barataria. He answered minutely the arguments of Mr. Stanley, exposed the folly of the idea, that we must not negotiate with the Americans until they had renounced their claim of independence. Are they not, he observed, in possession ? Are they not independent, *de facto* ? They possess the whole country of America. What we have, we have gained by arms. If we have a government in America, it is founded upon conquest, since they set up their independence ; and as they enjoy the right, *de facto*, and we alone *de jure*, we must and ought to treat with them on the terms of a federal union. He instanced the supposition of a treaty with France. The King of Britain enjoys the right *de jure* to the kingdom of France ; the French King enjoys it *de facto* ; he is merely a Congress usurper ; and yet would it be argued, that no treaty of peace could take place with him until he had renounced his claim. He begged to have leave to consider the effects that would arise from a renunciation of their independence. By renouncing their independence, they acknowledged their rebellion ; by acknowledging their rebellion, they acknowledged their crime ; by their crime they were deprived of their rights and obnoxious to punishment. In such case, no conciliation nor treaty could be made consistent with the honour of the British name ; so that terms of negotiation must be entered into during their independence. He said, that the act on which Lord and Sir William Howe were vested with their commissions, proposes two methods to be prosecuted to bring about a peace ; the one by force of arms, and the other by terms of conciliation. It would be necessary, he said, to inquire if both these methods had been practised ; the first he was sensible, and all must know, had been indeed tried, but he was afraid the second had not, else why were not New-York, Staten and Long-Islands, with any other territory we are in possession of, restored to the King's peace. Governor Tryon, he said, had written to General Howe for the purpose of restoring New-York to the King's peace. General Howe answered, that he could not do it without the concurrence of the secretary of state, and there it stopped. This, he hoped, would be particularly enquired into. He supported the propriety of his honourable friend's motion, on several other grounds equally able and pointed,
and

and concluded with saying, that he hoped his friend would not depart from a tittle of his proposition.

Mr. *Dunning* said, he highly approved the motion of his *Mr. Dun-* honourable friend, and he hoped that he would persist in it to *ning.* its full extent. Thus indefinite, the Committee may enquire into every transaction of the commissioners, and from that investigation, every measure of the ministry, relating to the same end, would be laid open. At the same time he owned, if his honourable friend had applied to him as a counsel for advice on the propriety of making such motion, he certainly should have objected to it, and that for this plain reason--- that such motions now-a-days produce nothing but an answer. He then reverted to the arguments of Mr. Stanley, in regard to the discovery of individuals by the exposure of papers. He saw no danger that could attend such exposure. If A. B. C. and D. have been engaged in a fair and equitable negotiation, what hurt could follow from the discovery of their names? It is not to be supposed, that any unfair treaty has been entered into, for it is a self-evident proposition, that tampering with an individual in an indirect manner, could produce no decisive effort. He begged the House to consider the peculiar propriety of the present motion. The commission to Lord and Sir William Howe, he said, followed upon an act originating in this House; and it was the duty of this House to examine the transactions that had followed their appointment. He concluded by observing, that he had risen to speak on the subject, in hopes that a further debate might arise upon it; and that the majority might not succeed, in their clamour, for a conclusion. Conscious of their superiority in point of number, they are not anxious for superiority in point of argument or right; but for once he hoped, that even argument and right would bear some sway in a question of such magnitude and importance.

The *Attorney-General* replied to Mr. Dunning, and was *Mr. Thur-* contending against the ill policy which it would be in admini- *low.* stration to give such information at the present critical moment; [when news came from the Lords, that the ministers in the upper House had agreed to the same motion, made by the Duke of Richmond. This intelligence produced a great deal of laughter amongst the minority, and the whisper reaching the Attorney-General, threw him into a little confusion; but having recovered from it, he quitted the defence of administration] and said, that let ministers do as they pleased in this or any other House, he, as a member of
Parliament

Parliament, never would give his vote for making public the circumstances of a negotiation during its progress. [However this did not stifle the laugh, which continued for some time.]

Mr. T.
Townshend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* answered the Attorney-General; and said, that the first negotiation had proved ineffectual, but had not said for what reason it had failed; indeed Government had poorly excused the failure, by saying the Americans had set up for independence, and would not depart from that claim, and for that reason the negotiation failed. The Congress, on the other hand, declare, that it broke off, because commissioners could not, or would not shew their powers and commission. If the reason on our side be true, what reprehension doth not administration merit, for not sending forth their commissioners before the claims of independence were set up? He averred it as a fact, the House know it, and the ministry dare not deny it, that the commissioners were not sent out till six months after passing the act. This criminal or wilful negligence gave rise to the claim of independence; that alone roused them to a sense of their situation, and the danger that hung upon them. He said, he was more surpris'd at an anecdote, that instant brought into the House, than ever he had been at all the former instances of ministerial absurdity. We are told here, that the papers cannot be laid before the House, because the discovery may be hurtful to administration; they may contain circumstances inconvenient to be known, injurious, and perhaps fatal to the state. Such was the language of the noble Lord, and yet, mark the consequence, the motion had passed in the upper House. The papers, and a full disclosure of every hurtful, inconvenient, injurious, and perhaps fatal circumstance, is to be laid before the House of Lords. Is this a language proper for this House? Is this a treatment that the representatives of freemen can bear? We are not to be trusted; we must not know secrets; our superiors indeed may search into the state of the nation, but we are too dangerous or too insignificant to be trusted. I will not make further comment on this affair; it is one of those glaring abuses which strikes to the heart without elucidation.

Ld. *North.*

Lord *North* arose and assured the House, that, notwithstanding what had happened in another place, he was still of opinion that the motion, as it then stood, was of an extent which neither wisdom nor sound policy could agree with. There was one paper in particular which he thought highly improper

improper to be made public, viz. the instructions to Lord and General Howe. It was dangerous and unprecedented to give such papers to the public pending a negotiation. Had the motion been in a more narrow compass, and related only to the steps taken in consequence of their power, he would have readily joined with the honourable gentleman who made it. If the motion was carried in another place, he presumed it might be with such qualification; at all events he had one consolation; gentlemen would be convinced at least, that it was not from any motives of personal fear or conscious culpability, that the King's ministers had desired to withhold the information moved for. He grew warm: he said, whatever effect the anecdote brought into the House might have on the House at large, he should, for his own part, adhere to his former opinion. He said, he thought it extremely disorderly to mention what passed in another House, in order to influence the determinations of this. What the other House had done, or might grant, was nothing to that. The House of Commons were not to be guided in their deliberations by any extrinsic consideration whatever. They never had, nor he trusted never would. They were an independent body, and he hoped they would not change their sentiments, merely on the account of an unauthenticated anecdote. The King's servants in the other House were most certainly intrusted with the secrets of administration: they were consequently competent judges for themselves, what ought, and what ought not to be disclosed; but for his own part he still adhered to his former opinion, that no part of a negotiation ought to be made public, till it was finally concluded, or broke off.

Mr. T. Townshend contended, he was not disorderly; that nothing was more usual, than to take notice of what passed in the other House; that a knowledge of each others deliberations and general sentiments was the prime motive for relaxing the respective standing orders of each House; and opening their doors to each other; and that as to the case immediately before them, he should mention a particular circumstance, which happened but a few days before in the other House; when a motion being made for papers by a noble Duke [Duke of Richmond] it was objected to by a noble Earl in office [Earl of Suffolk] but when the noble Duke replied, that a similar motion had been agreed to in the other House, the noble Lord withdrew his opposition, and instantly acquiesced.

Mr. T.
Townshend.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* took merit to himself, he said, from being the cause of continuing the debate, since it had introduced an anecdote of the utmost consequence, and which he hoped would penetrate to the heart of every member in the House; he was sorry, he said, that the learned gentleman who spoke before him affected to be ignorant of the terms minority and majority; he was certain, if he pleased, he could give a very clear definition of them, for he was occasionally an adherent of both. He did not think, however, that the noble Lord would be in a minority, unless he had given instructions to some of his adherents to leave him. [Here the Speaker called him to order] when he declared, he had broke no point of order, and thought himself justified in proceeding. That the noble Lord would be of a majority he was convinced, and therefore he could wish to address himself to the members who would compose that majority. He begged them to consider the manner in which they were treated; they were held unworthy to be trusted with a secret; they were told it would be fatal to trust them; and yet this mighty secret was thrown upon a board in another place, that every news-paper reader in London might be trusted with it. He begged them to reflect on the important situation which they held their responsibility to a body of free and independent representatives, and the regard due to their own honours as men and members of a British Parliament. He was pointing out the inconsistency of the House first asking for information, and then refusing to grant it to themselves, when.

Sir Fletcher Norton.

Mr. *Speaker* said, he trusted the House would give him credit, when he assured the learned gentleman, whom he took the liberty now to interrupt, that nothing partial or personal was meant. He found it to be necessary; he knew it to be his duty. It was the custom of that House, to adhere to one certain rule——The rule was, that no person should twice rise to speak to the same question, unless to explain: that rule was departed from, in the present instance, by his learned friend, having been up before. He therefore hoped, while he acted fair and impartial in the discharge of his duty, he would have the support of the House; if not, they must take the consequences.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* exculpated the chair from any designed partiality. He could not, however, avoid taking notice, that the same irregularity was permitted to be practised by gentlemen on the other side of the House. Nevertheless, if the rule

was strictly enforced, he would be content; if not, he looked upon himself equally intitled to indulgence with any other member.

Governor *Johnstone* adverted in a ludicrous manner to the artificial passion into which the noble Lord had worked himself up; he apologized for him, by observing, that it was nothing wonderful to see a minister very angry indeed, at being left in so awkward a situation. He said, the war had been called the war of Parliament; it was made in assertion of the pretended rights of Parliament; it was begun, carried on, and supported by Parliament, and must be ended by them alone. Where the war originated, there peace should originate---in that House; the propositions of peace must come from them, or there never would be a peace at all. The restraining acts must be first abolished; those unjust and impolitic acts, which, by condemning the innocent equally with the guilty, made it the interest of our friends to league with our enemies; and, as a necessary consequence, did actually produce that very independence which now seemed to stand so much in the way of our negotiators. He said, the Congress was in general composed of gentlemen as liberal and respectable as the members then sitting with him; there were indeed about four or five factious spirits amongst them, who have been enabled to carry their views to the height they have done, by no other means than the violent obstinacy and impolitic measures of ministry. If we had not endeavoured to retrench their liberty, they never could have attained---they never would have fought, independence. He took notice of the flourishing state to which America had attained in a very few years before our invasion of her liberties, and imputed that improvement to the freedom of her laws which Great Britain had given her---an epitome of our own government. This was a secret which England first discovered, of rendering her government in the extremities of her wide empire as compact and strong as that of other free nations had been weak and ineffectual---their colonists were slaves; Britain had made hers free as herself! In support of this argument he instanced the continued wars, tumults, outrages, and weakness of our governments in the East-Indies---because there is no freedom there---they are governed in Leadenhall-street. He thought it necessary, on account of the very distracted state of our affairs in that country, to give notice, that he would, on some future day, move the House to go into a committee on the affairs of the East-India Company.

Col. *Barré*.

Colonel *Barré* shewed some humour upon the embarrassment of the noble Lord. It was enough to make any premier not only angry, but mad, to see himself reduced to such a dilemma---either to vote that what was proper to be communicated to the Lords, was not fit for the ear of the Commons---or to intreat his friends, who have hitherto carried him through every opposition, to leave him on this occasion in an awkward minority. He wished to know with what grace his Lordship could stand up in that House, and say; “the House of Lords, and, through them, all the nation shall know these things; but wisdom and sound policy compel me to keep them a secret from the House of Commons.” If the noble Lord were of that sentiment, he advised him to carry his patriotism still further, and impeach those ministers, who, contrary to wisdom and sound policy, had dared to betray the King’s secrets in the House of Lords. If his Lordship would take this step, the Colonel was ready to join him, and recommended him for further support to a member then sitting near him [the Solicitor-General] who, when he used to divide with minorities, expressed a fondness for impeachments, [alluding to his promised impeachment of Lord Hillsborough, for his official conduct, as secretary of state for the colonies;] and now that he was likely to be again in a minority, might probably feel a return of the same inclination.

To grant a motion for papers to be laid before one House, and refuse it to another, was such an indignity, as he hoped the British House of Commons would not submit to. As the giving them to one was, in fact, giving them to both. No argument could be offered to reconcile to common sense the rejection of the motion then on the table, except the minister would venture to say, that their lordships, in another place, are too much above attending to the affairs of the nation; and that papers on their table may lie unnoticed, which, in the lower House, would meet a very warm discussion. If that was the minister’s idea, he took, as a sort of compliment, the knowledge which his Lordship seemed to have of the trim of that House. His Lordship’s warmth in his present novelty of situation, might teach him to make allowance for the heat of those gentlemen, who, glowing with a generous fire, with truth and reason on their sides, are often unfortunately in a minority. The minister deserved from them a similar indulgence, when he accidentally found himself in a minority---a cabinet minority! He concluded with

with congratulations to his Lordship on his present happy situation.

The *Solicitor-General* spoke against the indefinite latitude of the motion: he contended, that the expressions used in the debate of "granting or refusing" information, did not apply to administration, but to the House's granting or refusing the propositions which might come from any of its members individually; therefore the words carried no insult to the House; neither was it any indignity to the members, that information should be refused to one House which had been granted to another---if the House desired it---it could not be refused. The question then was, whether the House should judge it proper to grant or refuse what was desired by some of its members. Gentlemen, who thought it a slight on that House to contest the motion an instant after it was carried in another place, should recollect, that whilst they seem to support their dignity, they are absolutely trampling upon it; and he wondered any gentleman would venture to say, in that House---"the House of Lords have determined to do this, ---therefore we must do it also."

Mr. *Fox*, in support of his own motion, observed, that the only argument which had been offered against it, was now overturned by the vote of the Lords---the danger of betraying secrets. Those secrets were laid open by the resolution of the upper House; it was therefore no longer an argument to be refuted. He would not recede from the literal extent of the motion. The instructions to our commissioners, which the noble Lord wanted to conceal, were a principal object to him. He was told of a pending negotiation; it was already pending for two years, and if it was to continue for twenty more, the same reason would hold good till then, against an enquiry into them, and the reasons why they have not succeeded. As yet no visible good effect has been experienced from the granting them, except the income of one hundred pounds a week to each of the commissioners. Lord North said, he had mentioned that those instructions had been moved for before, and refused for the same reason now advanced. It was not right to disclose them at that time. Is then that never to be granted, which has been once refused? Is the glorious right of being ignorant of public affairs never to be given up? Are we to tell our constituents, we are not fit to be trusted with the knowledge of public transactions? those are only to be communicated to the House of Lords! I may be told (said he) we are contending for a very trifling matter,

matter, and when all the steps taken towards a pacification are laid before us, they will amount to nothing: their effect will of course be nothing. Yet I will contend, that those two nothings will amount to something. You know, Mr. Speaker, that in your profession there is a form of returning a writ *nihil*, or nothing; yet, Sir, you well know, that a return of two *nibils* amount to a *scire facias*, which is a powerful something. Now the something that would be produced by the two *nibils*, which may be returned to us upon the present enquiry, will be a conviction to the nation, as well as to this House, of the incapacity or absolute disinclination in administration to put an end to the distractions with which this empire is torn; and enable us to apply an effectual remedy to those disorders, before the folly, madness, or wickedness of ministers shall have brought us to a state of irretrievable ruin. By shewing us the causes why past negotiations have failed, it will perhaps point out a new mode of proceeding, which may be free from those difficulties that have caused our past miscarriages. Convinced perhaps of the inefficacy of violent remedies, we may learn, though late, to prescribe lenitives. For two years that a certain noble Lord has presided over American affairs, the most violent, scalping, tomahawk measures have been pursued:—bleeding has been his only prescription. If a people deprived of their ancient rights are grown tumultuous---bleed them!---if they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection---bleed them!---if their fever should rise into rebellion---bleed them, cries this state-physician! more blood! more blood! still more blood! When Dr. Sangrado (said he) had persevered in a similar practice of bleeding his patients,---killing by the very means which he used for a cure---his man took the liberty to remonstrate upon the necessity of relaxing in a practice to which thousands of their patients had fallen sacrifices, and which was beginning to bring their names into disrepute. The doctor answered, I believe we have indeed carried the matter a little too far, but you must know I have written a book upon the efficacy of this practice, therefore, though every patient we have should die by it, we must continue the bleeding for the credit of my book.---He asked the noble Lord, who had often held Washington and his army very cheap, what idea he entertained of their courage and abilities since he read the accounts arrived that day?

He said, a few days ago he dropped a suspicion of some division in administration, conceived from a circumstance of

reading the King's speech at the house of a certain noble Lord on the day before it was delivered in Parliament. The premier then contradicted him, and talked largely of their unanimity; but now his words were verified, from the different sentiment of ministers in the upper and those in the lower House: and hence he was warranted, he thought, in drawing this conclusion---that he, whose sentiments seemed most reasonable, was the most inconsistent in his conduct. The noble Lord at the head of the treasury always professed a disposition for peace; yet would not give any proofs that he had taken a single step towards obtaining it---but the minister in another house had ever declared, that it was his opinion nothing ought to be done by us towards a pacification; he therefore shewed no objection to produce papers, which, in testimony of his consistency, would shew that nothing had been done. He concluded with a suggestion to such members as talked sometimes of being independent in their principles, though they supported administration;---telling them, if they did not on this occasion stand up for the dignity of the House they could never after wipe away the imputation of being mere puppets to the minister, without one principle of reason, pride or honour!

Governor *Pownall* said, he had no intention of mixing in with the debate of this day, nor of speaking; but as he never has let any opportunity of speaking pass, when the subject of peace or conciliation came upon the *tapis*; and as he most devoutly wished to see peace between this country and America, he did presume to offer himself to the House. He said, he had something which he conceived to be of the last importance to communicate to the House, to this very point: he said, he did not care whether the papers asked for were granted by the House or not: not that he would stand in the description made by a learned gentleman, of those who were supposed to confess themselves unworthy of having these papers communicated to them; but really, as he thought the papers asked for, from the commission, down to the lowest draught, were of so little consequence, that he thought them unworthy of the House, so far as respected the subject of peace. That even the act of Parliament itself was of no import to that point; for, under the powers of this act, the government of this country could not treat with the Americans but as subjects. In this view of it, questions have been asked, Had Lord Howe powers to treat? or did the Americans refuse to treat? Lord Howe, he said, could have no powers

powers to treat with them on the ground which they insisted to take; and they refused to treat on any other ground. They did not only refuse it then, but five months after. After General Howe had finished his campaign of 1776, the Congress came to resolutions to instruct their commissioners at the several courts in Europe, to assure those courts, that notwithstanding “the artful and insidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain, to represent the Congress and inhabitants of the United States, as having a disposition again to submit to the sovereignty of the crown of Great Britain, it is their determination at all events, to maintain their independence.” He then produced a copy of the resolve, dated Dec. 30, 1776, and read it to the purport above. Here, said he, what terms will the gentlemen in government, on their side the House, offer? What terms will the gentlemen on the other side the House desire to meet these propositions? Will they also make this artful and insidious representation of the disposition of the Americans? I know, said he, that what I have said, and what I shall say further, will displease gentlemen on both sides; but I have no *menagements* to keep, either with individuals or parties of men: I have none to oblige; I have none to fear. On occasions like this I shall look not to men, but to things, and in that line shall inform the House, and perhaps the nation, for I do not see that they have yet learnt it, of a very serious truth. That the House may not think that I am hazarding opinions, and talking at random, I will beg to remind them, that nine years ago, in the years 1768 and 1769, when you were beginning the quarrel that has brought on this horrid and destructive war, I did explain to the House, not in general words, but by a particular detail, the state and circumstances of America, and its inhabitants; and from thence described the issue of this business literally and precisely as it has turned out in every event to this great and interesting one. There was nobody, at that time, knew so much of that matter as myself; and I thought it my duty at that time; I spoke out, without *menagement* or reserve. The House did not care to believe it, and were less willing to hear it; I was not well heard, yet it was true; it has proved true in every iota. When, upon your sending troops to Boston, the Americans were driven to war, I first informed this House, and I believe government also, that the Americans were not unprepared to meet any event; that they had foreseen what must come, and were prepared both in civil as well

well as military arrangements, to conduct their own affairs, and to resist your measures. I then informed the House of the very constitution by which they now act, under the Congress. I then informed the House of their having planned and modelled an army; the House did not care to understand, though they did not disbelieve this.

I now tell this House and government, that the Americans never will return again to their subjection to the government of this country. If the paper which I have just read be not sufficient proof, I may, perhaps, on some future occasion, explain something of still more importance. But this must be conviction to any person, who understands the course of affairs. A people, whose affairs are interwoven and so connected as the affairs of the Americans are with several European states, pledging themselves to those states in this solemn manner, are engaged beyond all possibility of retreat. On this ground, as well as from the conviction of many other matters which my mind possesses, but which the present is not the proper time to explain them in, I now take upon me to assert directly, and in terms, that your sovereignty over America is abolished and gone for ever. I could say the same of your navigation act; but I will not enter upon that subject, particularly on this occasion. The House seems unwilling to be told this. I will only repeat what I said on a like occasion, and upon a like temper of the House---if the House is not disposed to believe this, if the House is unwilling to hear it, they will remember that they have been told it; that they have been forewarned of it; and I repeat as a truth in actual event, the sovereignty of this country over America is abolished and gone for ever; that the navigation act is annihilated.

Of what use then are these papers, commissions, instructions, or any other papers formed under an act of Parliament, which supposes that sovereignty to exist? of what use or power is any act of Parliament respecting that country? Of what import are our debates on this subject? It may be matter of amusement for different sides of the House, to continue endless and fruitless disputes, and abuse one another on this subject; but it is of no import to the Americans; it is of no real import to the point of business in this pressing crisis. Until you shall be convinced that you are no longer sovereigns over America, but that the United States are an independent, sovereign people---until you are prepared to treat with them as such; it is of no consequence at all, what

schemes or plans of conciliation this side the House, or that may adopt. I have at this time told you the fact, which I have just now declared, in order that ye may no longer amuse and abuse yourselves with impracticable ideas. And as of the sovereignty, so I say of the navigation act. You must no longer expect to reason, or act, as though that still existed, or would be any longer permitted to have effect. The Americans have repealed it, and it is annihilated with the powers of Europe. Those persons who hear me, may remember, that at the beginning of this business, I told them, that the House of Bourbon only wanted an occasion to dispute the ground of our act of navigation, and that they would insert themselves in this business (if they had no other views) to this very point. We have given them the very occasion, and have they not inserted themselves in the business?---If you were at this moment in treaty with America on that point, it is not in her power to grant you terms consonant to that act; they could meet you only on such terms as are not contrary to, and incongruous with, their engagements with France. Desirous as they were of a commercial treaty with Spain, "they could not propose any terms to his Catholic Majesty, but such as were not inconsistent with their engagements with France, or disagreeable to his most Christian Majesty." In the very same predicament must they meet you whenever they come to treat with you. To speak precisely, they have not as yet any actual, definitive treaty with France, but the two powers are under stipulations and convention, in which they perfectly understand each other. All the treaty that this country can ever expect with America, is foederal, and that perhaps only commercial. In such treaty perhaps you may obtain favourable terms; but exclusive terms of trade you must never more expect. They are determined to maintain their independence at all events. The Dutch, in their distress, hawked about the offer of the sovereignty of their country. They offered it to the Duke of Anjou; they offered it to Henry the third of France; they offered it to Elizabeth of England; but the Americans will never offer that of their country to any power on earth. They have a quite different measure in reserve; which perhaps I may on some future occasion explain. They are determined at all events to be independent; and they will be so. All then that remains for us, if we mean to consider and adopt what is really practicable, is to take such ground as is actually left to us. Let us appoint a committee to take into consideration,

and revise all our laws respecting the government, revenues, and trade of America, and of our commerce in Europe. And let us, on such revision, adapt our laws to our actual, not our imaginary state. I was once called upon by a noble Lord, who is, I am sure, as uniform in his wishes for peace, as he is in his spirit for conducting the war, to propose such a committee two or three years ago. I wish it had then been come into. I will now, in my turn, call upon that noble Lord. This, in my opinion, is the only thing we have left to do, or can do. As to the papers called for, they are of no more consequence than so much waste paper. Nothing can have been done, nothing ever will be done in that line; so I care not whether the House grants the motion or not.

Lord *George Germaine*, in answer to Mr. Fox's question, relating to American courage, declared, that he had never said in that House, or any where else, that the Americans were a dastardly or a cowardly enemy. He had indeed ever asserted, that with equal force General Washington could not stand before the British troops, who were at this day perhaps the brayest in the world, and had in the present war performed services unequalled in the history of empires. This was his belief, and the news then just received had given him no reason to alter his opinion. General Washington's force was fifteen thousand, not speaking of the militia; General Howe's numbers were but thirteen thousand rank and file; yet he defeated the continental troops. He was sorry to say, that however favourable the accounts just received might be, nothing decisive had happened. General Howe had been victorious in two general engagements; the first in his march to Philadelphia, which was taken possession of by the King's troops on the 25th of September; the last, when the rebels attacked our camp, and were repulsed with great loss.---He bestowed the highest encomiums on the abilities of the generals, and the bravery of the troops; and particularly on the gallant behaviour of Sir Harry Clinton, in an expedition up the North River, in which services had been performed scarcely entitled to credit, if they had not been authenticated beyond a possibility of doubt. The only check the troops had received, he said, was in the attack of a fort near Philadelphia, on the banks of the river Delaware, which unfortunately miscarried; but even in that affair, nothing was to be imputed to misconduct, or want of bravery; but was merely the effect of those accidents to which the best planned operations are liable. As to the object of the question before the

Ld. *George Germaine.*

House, he always understood, that no part of a negotiation ought to be disclosed while it was depending.---If the powers which the act of Parliament of the 16th of his present Majesty, for appointing commissioners to treat with our subjects in America, were inadequate, that might be a good reason for enquiring what had been done under those powers, and applying to Parliament for more extensive ones. Nothing of the kind had been so much as hinted, by those who had been intrusted with the execution. On the contrary, the Congress resisted all steps towards conciliation at the very threshold; they refused to treat upon any other terms but being acknowledged an independent assembly, the full representative of the several independent states who appointed them. Various opinions had been given from different sides of the House.---The honourable gentleman, who spoke last, was of opinion, that America would not treat, unless we acknowledge her to independent; that we were unequal to reduce her by force of arms to obedience; and, that the most we could now expect was to enter into a foederal alliance with her upon commercial principles, and a prospect of advantages in the way of trade. As to the practicability of reducing our rebellious subjects in America by force of arms, great as our resources, powerful as our fleets and armies, and brave and able as we were, he began to despair of success if they should continue united; but still, for his part, he should think himself highly criminal, if he advised, or co-operated in any measures for entering into a foederal union with rebels. If they could not be brought back to a state of constitutional obedience, he should for his part be much better pleased to break off all political connection whatever with them, than stoop to the humiliating condition of submitting to what terms they might think proper to grant.---Though he differed from the honourable gentleman as to the proposition of a foederal commercial union, he heartily acquiesced in his sentiments respecting the ultimate views of the colonies.---He believed, they were the same from the beginning; that they aimed at independence; and that nothing short of that would content them. On that ground, therefore, he stood, if Parliament were willing to relinquish the sovereignty of America, he had no more to say; he would chearfully acquiesce, because it was his duty; if, on the other hand, Parliament saw the necessity of prosecuting the war upon the mere principle of self-defence, it would follow, that the most decisive exertions should be made; for he was certain, nothing short of those
would

would answer any effectual purpose.---For if the war was let to linger, the strength and resources of the nation would be exhausted. Campaign after campaign, battle after battle, would never answer, and might in another view be attended with great danger. America was almost ruined, and was suffering under every species of human misery. The idea of a total and permanent separation from this country might probably detach numbers from what they deemed a just cause, while a security of their rights, and a modification of our claims, was what alone they imagined their leaders had in view. If therefore means could be devised to prevent the secret assistance they received from some of the powers of Europe, he still retained an expectation, that they might be compelled to return to their duty.---The honourable gentleman, who spoke last but one [Mr. Fox] had represented him as delighting in blood: he begged leave to assure him, he was entirely mistaken; he always abhorred the effusion of blood, could it have been possibly avoided. He was equally mistaken relative to his imputed ideas about unconditional submission. No man was ever more ready to give way, even to the prejudices of America than he, but he could never learn, how it was possible to treat with subjects in arms, till they acknowledged the relation, which could be the only foundation of treaty; namely, that they were subjects. This was his decided opinion before he came into office; he had been uniform in his language. Since he was called into the King's counsels, he never varied; and whatever charges or insinuations to the contrary may have been thrown out, he could fairly say, that whenever he had been consulted by his sovereign, he had always advised him like an honest man.---He begged pardon of the House for detaining it so long. He should not have said so much, if he had not been heated and off his guard on account of all the odium which had been attempted to be heaped on him. The honourable gentleman seemed to throw all the blame of every miscarriage on him; and said, that every one measure undertaken by him had failed in his hands. It might or might not be so; but all he had to say in his justification was, that he acted intentionally right; and that if his information had proved true, they must have been attended with success. He was prepared and willing, that his whole conduct should undergo the most severe and rigid enquiry, as he was conscious of its rectitude; and was certain, it was perfectly justifiable, according to the information

information he received, which, in many particulars, he had since great reason to believe was wrong.

General
Conway.

General *Conway* replied to the last noble Lord, and made many pointed remarks on the incongruity of several parts of his speech. He observed, that the noble Lord said, if the colonies should continue united, the strength, prowess, and resources of this country, however great, were unequal to the task. The noble Lord does not say, they are not united; yet his Lordship, according to his own argument, is for prosecuting the war without the least prospect of success.---Why then spill the blood, and waste the treasures of this country, to no effect? America cannot be conquered; if it were, the noble Lord confesses, it would not be worth retaining by force of arms, but nevertheless, he recommends a continuance of the war.---He then declared, whatever other gentlemen on either side of the House might think, he believed, if Parliament would once adopt pacific measures, matters might be yet amicably settled, upon a clear, permanent, constitutional footing; we might recover the monopoly of the American trade, which was all we ever had a right to expect; and become once more, a happy, united, and powerful people. It was true, as administration had done from the beginning, they might first predict, and then verify their predictions.---It was probable, if they much longer persisted in measures of blood, devastation and carnage, that America would never treat with, or acknowledge any political relation whatever; but that no more proved, that they would not now, than every other prediction of theirs, which afterwards by their conduct came to be fulfilled. On the whole, if some proposition was not shortly made, on our part, he expected nothing else; and should not be surprised, if the people of America ever after refused to hear of accommodation; because were he equally circumstanced, he should act precisely in the same manner. He concluded by affirming, that all the evils which have since happened, arose from the act empowering commissioners to treat; the defectiveness of the instructions under that act; and the delay and neglect, in not sending out the commissioner in time.

Mr. Henry
Dundas.

The *Lord-Advocate* of Scotland said nothing new on the subject. He declaimed vehemently against the propriety of the motion; and insisted to bring America to reason, we must make her feel our power. He said, he was not in the last Parliament, and could not consequently judge, how far either party were wrong in the beginning; but since he had the honour of a seat in that House, he had acted uniformly
to

to the best of his judgment, free from partiality or predilection; and that if the same scene was to present itself again, he never gave a single vote that he would not cheerfully repeat.

The question was put, and the House divided, Ayes 178, Noes 89.

December 3.

This day the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, to consider of the army estimates.

As soon as Sir Charles Whitworth took the chair of the Committee, Lord *Barrington* rose and moved the following resolutions according to the estimates then lying on the table. Lord *Barrington*. His Lordship informed the House, that they nearly corresponded with those of the preceding year, except a sum incurred for the difference of the pay of 4000 troops, paid by Ireland, and of course on that establishment, which deficiency had been lately pointed out by Mr. Barry Barry, an Irish member. After giving a detail of the several stations of the troops, his Lordship moved, that 20,000 men be employed in Great Britain for the service of the year 1778, guards, garrisons, and invalids included.

Colonel *Barre* desired to know, before any subsequent supplies should be granted, what was the number of troops serving in America. Col. *Barre*.

Lord *Barrington* replied, that the whole army upon paper consisted of 55,095 men, 14,000 of which were under the immediate command of General Carleton, 20,000 under General Howe, and the remaining 21,000, consisting of Regulars, Provincials, &c. were serving at New-York, Staten-Island, Rhode-Island, Nova-Scotia, the West Indies, Pensacola, &c. Lord *Barrington*.

Mr. *Byng* said, that he should be glad to mention a circumstance which occurred to him, on a certain noble Lord's observing, the night before, that General Howe always attacked General Washington with an inferior force. I should be glad to know, said he, whether the 20,000 men, which are now said to have landed with General Howe, are inferior to the number of 15,000 men, which has been stated to be under the command of General Washington. It is a fact, that the noble Lord yesterday represented the number of our army to be 13,000 men, and the number of General Washington's to be 15,000. It appeared extremely inconsistent to him that General Howe should attack an army of 15,000 men with only 13,000 men, when the number of his army Mr. *Byng*.
was

was actually 20,000. This was a circumstance, he concluded, that required investigation, and he called on the noble Lord in question to explain it. If the account now given by the noble Lord was correct, we had no great reason to pride ourselves in our superior bravery; as we must have had a superiority of four to three.---The alternative could not be evaded; either we were superior, or the noble Lord who has the superintendence of the army misinformed the House; or if he was right, the noble Lord in high office was grossly mistaken.

Lord George
Germaine.

Lord *George Germaine* answered, that the question was certainly pertinent and proper, and that he should readily answer it. He acknowledged it was true he had stated the army under General Howe to be 13,000 men, and that of General Washington's to be 15,000 men, and did so still; but then he neither included in that number the artillery, officers, or wounded soldiers. He only spoke of 13,000 men with arms on their shoulders; 13,000 effective men engaged in battle, and that conquered 15,000.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* expressed the greatest surprize at the reply of the noble Lord---He never heard so barefaced, palpable, and mean a quibble in his life---Never, he said, did he hear a soldier so express himself; never, he was convinced, did a minister of war obtrude on the House of Commons such an assertion:---It is deserving of remembrance, and I promise the noble Lord, says he, it shall be remembered. What, continues the Colonel, exclude from the list of the army the officers and artillery, because they do not carry firelocks? Are not the officers concerned in the battle? Are not the artillery? Do they nothing towards conquest? The noble Lord may have partial experience on his side, perhaps, to prove such doctrine; but I'll promise him, it would be very ungracious to a British audience, and would gain little credit even in a domestic circle. The Colonel then called upon the noble Lord to declare upon his honour, what was become of General Burgoyne and his brave troops; and whether or not he had not received expresses from Quebec, informing him of his having surrendered himself, with his whole army, prisoners of war?

Lord George
Germaine.

Lord *George Germaine* said in answer, that he was ever ready to give to the House the most early and authentic intelligence of any transaction within his knowledge; and now, though the recital must give him pain, he knew it to be his duty to inform the House, that he had, indeed, received

ceived expresses from Quebec, with a piece of very unhappy intelligence, which, however, was not authenticated, and he could not declare it officially: It had been sent from Ticonderoga to Quebec, and had come to Ticonderoga by the reports of deserters. The tidings were, that General Burgoyne and his army were surrounded by a force greatly superior---cut off from fresh supplies of provisions, and unable to pierce through the numbers of the enemy---so situated, he had been forced to capitulate, and had surrendered himself and his army prisoners, on condition that they should engage not to serve during the war in America; should have a safe conveyance to the water-side, and have leave from thence to return to their native country. It was a most unwelcome, and a most unfortunate affair; but, however, he hoped, the House would not be over anxious in condemnation, nor decide on the propriety or impropriety of the concerted plan that led to this unhappy event. He hoped they would suspend their judgments both on the conduct of the general and of the minister on this occasion. He hoped the conduct of both would appear free from guilt. For his part, he declared he was ready to submit his conduct in planning the expedition to the judgment of the House. If it appeared impotent, weak, and injurious, let the censure of the House fall upon him. He was ready to abide it; as every minister, who regards the welfare of his country, ought at all times to have his conduct scrutinized by his country.

Colonel *Barré* rose again, and in a most animated, severe Col. *Barré*. manner, reprehended the noble Lord. He declared he was shocked at the cool, easy manner in which he related the fate of the brave Burgoyne. He was more so at the assurance of insinuating, that a portion of the blame might lie at the door of the General. Was there, he exclaimed, a man in the House who in his heart could say, that Burgoyne had failed through his own misconduct? That he had shewn the least sign of cowardice, the least symptom of neglect in the expedition he was thrust into? He was certain, there were none would say so. But every man would say, or at least every man would think, that the man who planned the expedition was to blame. The minister alone who concerted the scheme, is obnoxious to reprehension for its failure. It was an inconsistent scheme, an impracticable one, unworthy of a British minister, and rather too absurd for an Indian chief. Remember how frequently, how earnestly, and sincerely, I have warned, says he, the minister, of the effects of this plan. I

forefaw the confequences. I foretold the event. It was faid I fpoke in prophecy ; has not my prophecy come to pafs ? But in what terms can I exprefs my furprife at the bravery, my indignation at the effrontery of the noble Lord, in declaring he will abide the censure of this Houfe, and fubmit his conduct to their eye. Does the noble Lord know the extent of his criminality ? Does he know the refentments of this Houfe ? I believe he knows neither ; but how foon he may it is not for me to determine.

I would beg leave, continues he, to call the attention of the Committee to the conduct of the Americans. They have been branded in this Houfe with every opprobrious epithet that meanness could invent ; termed cowardly and inhuman. Let us mark the proof. They have obliged as brave a general as ever commanded a body of Britifh troops to furrender ; fuch is their cowardice ; and inftead of throwing chains upon thefe troops, they have nobly given them their freedom ; fuch is their inhumanity. I only wifh, from this fingle circumftance, to draw this fair conclufion, that inftead of being engaged with a fet of lawlefs, desperate adventurers, we find them, by experience, to be men of the moft exalted fentiments ; infpired by that genius of liberty which is the nobleft emotion of the Houfe, which it is impoffible to conquer, impracticable to difmifs.

Hon. James
Luttrell.

Honourable *James Luttrell*. I find myfelf under a neceffity of requesting the indulgence of the Houfe for a few minutes, becaufe I think it my duty, to take every opportunity of repeating my abhorrence of the mercenary and favage principles of a civil war, which has never yet held out conftitutional terms of peace to be its object ; and as I do conceive, that whilft unconditional fubmiffion is the language of the minifters and Parliament, all efforts to conquer America muft prove in vain, I cannot agree to vote away the lives and properties of my fellow-fubjects, merely for the purpofe of enriching and aggrandifing a few favourites and flatterers placed near the throne.

The Americans, it is evident, will not give up their liberties, they will die firft ; all the eloquence of a Cicero cannot perfuade us, that the unfortunate, mifled Burgoyne is victorious ; that General Clinton is in defireable fafety ; or juftly give the boafled title of conqueror of America to Sir William Howe, yet the latter is reprefented with a great and powerful army in the field ; he wants neither for money, nor fhips, nor troops ; he wants but the only one neceffary article for con-
folation

solation in defeat, or permanency and advantage in victory, I mean a just cause; and Great Britain never, never can build up fame or dignity to itself, upon acts of injustice and oppression.

But ministers have hopes of important success. Sir, that language ought at least to imply, some honest, wise Americans, may, upon sound principles, be induced to return to their allegiance; but is there a gentleman in this House, that would candidly acquit the abettors of unconditional submission, of deserving the slavery you endeavour to yoke them with? Is it to obtain such a humiliating end, that the American now consoles himself for the loss of a father, friend, or brother, who fell in the battle? No, Sir, it was for liberty they fought, for liberty they died; that only can repay the loss, and obtain forgiveness of the murder.

The Revolution which brought the present family to the throne, was obtained by men so resolved; our Magna Charta was obtained by men so resolved; and the Americans have not proved themselves less deserving of their liberties, than those Britons. An American Magna Charta is what they wisely contend for; not a Magna Charta to be taxed by strangers, a thousand leagues distant. But the constitution of this country, if in perfection, if uncontroverted by bribery, and abuse of power, is acknowledged to be one of the happiest that men can live under; therefore, I do believe, that many wise and honest Americans may, upon sound principles, prefer it to any new invention of their own. I do not say the Congress would, nor yet many of their ambitious leaders, nor yet perhaps the virtuous Washington; but if constitutional freedom was secured to America, every victory might then gain over some worthy friends to our cause, instead of cowardly deserters, deceitful spies, or false and dangerous pilots.

But ministers tell us that England is rich, and foreigners may be hired to carry on the war; what Briton would give up his laurels to those paltry hirelings, and save our blood? Sir, if honour called to arms, what minister dare to propose it? Neither are the Germans as cheap as is pretended, for you must now pay their hire, and when the war is at an end, you must likewise pay a large additional sum for all those who do not return home. Sir, I do not think the Germans will return, for I must pay the compliment to these ministers, that I do believe, even they are incapable of making such a constitution for America, that the Germans shall fly from it to

better themselves, by returning to their own native, infamous shambles, to be again sold by their tyrannical, petty princes.

But our important hope is to be gratified by the possession of Philadelphia. Sir, that town was built for peace and trade, not for war. It extends itself upon a low, flat country, with scarce one advantageous spot of ground to place a single gun on for its defence; therefore, to surround it with great works to secure yourselves in winter quarters, must create an immense expence, besides the lateness of the season making such an undertaking almost impracticable to be carried into execution. It is then a glorious conquest to those who may enrich themselves by that new expence, but a calamity to those who are to be taxed for that new extravagance.

Or do we wish to be in possession of the most beautiful town in America only to set fire to it? Are the British legions gone forth merely to warm themselves by the burning towns upon the coast? Can bishops persuade us, their smoke shall rise to an approving God, or on earth celebrate the dignity, the wealth, the honour, the humanity of the British nation?

But ministers are very brave to-day, they are ready to seal with their blood the mischief of their counsels; and whilst they are so loudly supported by a majority of Parliament, that language sounds well. But I must beg leave to remind them of a story which is related of a certain general and statesman, who drew all his former friends about the court, with the heads of birds and beasts upon their shoulders. He drew his mistress with the head of a swallow, and he wrote this motto underneath, *Je suis le mauvais temps*, alluding to her having forsaken him in his misfortunes. Let ministers beware, lest the swallow's head and that motto should best suit the most strenuous and forward of their present advocates.

For, Sir, had I an hundred tongues, and the eloquence of much abler men than myself who speak within these walls, I could not sufficiently express all the horrors, all the mischief, all the ruin of this savage war; but this I will say, that whilst such desperate, unfeeling ministers, advise his Majesty, with such an expensive war to carry on, without an object of advantage in return, with such a cause to disgrace the British arms, and spill the best blood of this country, what man in his senses can be satisfied with the times, or can agree to vote for a perseverance in measures, which have already produced
such

such dreadful disgrace and calamity, that Great Britain is shook to its foundation?

Mr. *Burke* thanked the two gentlemen, who had spoken Mr. *Burke*. before him, for having afforded him some time to calm the tumult and perturbation in his breast, occasioned by the information given to the House by the noble Lord. A whole army compelled to lay down their arms, and receive laws from their enemies, was a matter so new, that he doubted if such another instance could be found in the annals of history. The effrontery with which it was told, excited no less astonishment than indignation. Ignorance had stamped every step taken during the course of the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the minister for the American department, not to be imputed to General Burgoyne, of whose good conduct, bravery, and skill, he did not entertain even the shadow of a doubt. The noble Lord said, *if* there was any blame to be laid.—Without blame somewhere, could an entire army be reduced to the painful, the distracting necessity of laying down their arms, and becoming prisoners of war? With the General and his troops, he was persuaded, there was no fault to be found; that it could be traced no where but to the noble Lord, whose ignorance was not brought as an extenuation, but as a justification of his crime.

The Americans had, he observed, been always represented as cowards; this was far from being true; and he appealed to the conduct of Arnold and Gates towards Burgoyne, as a striking proof of their bravery. Our army was totally at their mercy. We had employed the savages to butcher them, their wives, aged parents, and children; and yet, generous to the last degree, they gave our men leave to depart on their parole, never more to bear arms against North-America.---Bravery and cowardice could never inhabit the same bosom; generosity, valour, and humanity are ever inseparable.---Poor indeed the Americans are, but in that consists their greatest strength.---Sixty thousand men have fallen at the feet of their magnanimous, because voluntary poverty. They had not yet lost all regard for the country from whence they sprung:---anxious still for our home-defence, they have sent us back our troops; and left their hands free to fight against every enemy of Great Britain, but themselves. He reproached Lord George Germaine for his misconduct and foolish credulity.—He said he was astonished at him. In the beginning of last year, the noble Lord, he said, informed them, that the enemy were cowardly, and our army superior

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in number.---On what did he ground this information? On report, mere idle report, to which the noble Lord was always an implicit slave. He said, that the information on which ministers confided, should be precise and certain:---that misinformation was no palliation for their errors, and he did not suppose that the House would admit it as such. He said, the intended measure was a conjunction between Howe and Burgoyne, but that it was to be produced in the strangest manner he had ever heard of.---The armies were to meet---yes; Howe was travelling southwards, and Burgoyne in the very same direction!---The advocates for administration, he said, had delighted in representing America in an abject situation---as being without salt, without shoes and stockings, &c.---If they had applied to him in the beginning of the war, he could have told them of many more wants than all those together under which the Americans laboured, but he would also have informed the House, that men fighting for liberty were not influenced by such particulars; that these only affected the body, but that the souls of the Americans were unreduced.

He concluded with a few words on the Solicitor-General, whom he called the council to the noble Lord. Upon this

Mr. Wed-
derburne.

Mr. *Solicitor-General* arose, and described his own political character: his opinions, he said, were genuine; they were his own; and he never spoke the sentiments of any man, but those only which his own reason had suggested; nor did he ever in that House plead the cause of any man.

He had been invariable in his opinion, as well on one side of the House as on the other; and not seldom differed from both. The calamity he could not deny, was great; but could not infer from it that our condition was desperate. We had often received checks; but the spirit of the nation had always made us rise superior to our distresses: an exertion of that spirit would, on the present occasion, infallibly rescue us from danger. Britons ever shewed magnanimity in distress; and certain victory was the sure consequence of that spirit: he wished therefore, that gentlemen would not be cast down: that before now as great misfortunes had happened to us, from which we reaped substantial advantages: at Brihuega General Stanhope was forced to lay down his arms, and surrender himself and his army prisoners of war; and that disgrace only served to raise an enthusiastic ardour in the people, which soon effaced the stigma.

Mr.

Mr. *T. Townshend* ironically applauded the learned gentleman for finding out precedents for our misfortunes; and rejoiced that the expedition conducted by his friend Colonel St. Leger had miscarried, as blood and desolation would have marked the footsteps of the Indians, if they had been able to march to Albany. He was anxious to wear out the impression that Mr. Solicitor's speech, on the spirit of Britons, had visibly made on the country gentlemen; and for that purpose he drew the conduct of the savages in the most odious colours.

Mr. *Charles Fox* expressed his happiness at being prevented from speaking immediately after the fatal tidings of our disgrace had been communicated to the House: rage and indignation so swayed his breast at that time; that if he had attempted to speak, his words must have been unintelligible. An army of 10,000 men destroyed through the ignorance, the obstinate, wilful ignorance, and incapacity of the noble Lord, called loudly for vengeance; and if no one else would take upon himself the task of moving directly for an enquiry into the affair, he himself would do it. A gallant general sent like a victim to be slaughtered, where his own skill and personal bravery would have earned him laurels, if he had not been under the direction of a blunderer, which circumstance alone was the cause of his disgrace, was too shocking a sight for humanity to bear unmoved. The General and the House had been imposed on and deceived: Burgoyne's orders were to make his way to Albany, there to wait the orders of Sir William Howe, and to co-operate with him; but General Howe knew nothing of the matter, for he was gone to a different country, and left the unhappy Burgoyne and his troops to make the best terms for themselves, in a country that was by nature so defended, that strong holds were to met at almost every mile; and every hour's march presented almost insurmountable obstacles to his progress. He inveighed most bitterly against Lord George Germaine; looked upon him as solely responsible in the first degree; and next expressed his opinion, that of all those who had concurred in the measures of the war, by giving their vote in support of it, were likewise criminal, though in an inferior degree. He concluded by pronouncing the panegyric of Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Solicitor General* gave a little explanation of one of his expressions and sat down.

Mr. *Wedderburne.*

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby*, as one of the many who had voted for the war, thought it necessary to say something in his own vindication : and proved, that for upwards of thirteen years, he had been invariably consistent : he had been convinced, that Great Britain was supreme over all her dominions ; it was declared so, early in the reign of George the Second, who taxed the colonies, and acknowledged by them when they submitted to be taxed ; from a tax imposed and submitted to, he inferred a right to tax ; and from that conviction he had acted when he voted for the war ; and he was still of opinion, that every nerve should be strained to prosecute it with vigour.

Ld. North. Lord *North* arose, and expressed his sorrow at the present unhappy news. That no man from the beginning, more firmly wished for peace than he had ; and that no man would do more to obtain it now ; if the laying down his place and honours would accomplish it, he would gladly resign them all. He owned he had been dragged to his place against his will. A place which, while in possession, however disagreeable, he would support to the best of his power. As to the noble Lord in the American department, he trusted he had acted on the soundest principles of candour and deliberation. He could not possibly make any objection to the inquiry into that noble Lord's conduct, as he made no doubt but he would acquit himself before that House. As to an honourable gentleman's observation of a pension's having been given for bad information, he should only say this, that he never recollected the gentleman alluded to, had given bad information. He acknowledged his having interceded with the King for a reward for his fidelity : a man who lived in America, who was universally beloved there, till this unhappy dispute ; a man, continues he, who refused signing their resolutions, and who, on that account, was obliged to quit the country, was, in his opinion, a man worthy reward. Was he to starve here, says he ? The obtaining such a man a comfortable pittance, was not, I trust, a blameable action. He concluded with defending the general subject of the American war, by observing, that he thought it entirely necessary that every part of the British empire should contribute to the defraying the common necessary expences.--- He said the ministers were unjustly accused, when they were reproached with their want of information, for that they had always given the best they could procure ; and that he was ready when the general voice of the House should call for

for it, to explain his own conduct; and that whether we were for peace or war, the present supply was absolutely necessary, as the men must be, supposing a cessation of arms, conducted home.

The following resolutions were then severally moved and agreed to.

That 20,000 effective men including 3213 invalids be employed in Great Britain for the service of the year 1778.

That 634,240 l. be granted for maintaining said men for one year.

That 960,843 l. be granted for maintaining the forces at Minorca, Gibraltar, the Ceded Islands, America, Nova Scotia and the coast of Africa.

That 56,074 l. be granted for the pay of five Hanoverian battalions serving at Gibraltar.

That 360,723 l. be granted for the maintaining of 14000 troops of Hesse in British pay.

That 35,441 l. be granted for the pay of two regiments of Hesse Hanau.

That 17,370 l. be granted for the pay of a regiment of Waldeckers.

That 93,947 l. be granted for 4300 Brunswickers in British pay.

That 313,407 l. be granted for the troops of Brandenburg Anspach.

That 382,816 l. be granted for the charges of the office of ordnance for land service.

That 300,483 l. for the said office of ordnance for services not provided.

Ordered that the said resolutions be reported. There was no division.

December 4.

The Speaker having taken the chair, Colonel *Barré*, made Col. *Barré*. the following motions:

“ That an account be laid before the House of all the grants made to his Majesty to pay his national and foreign troops, from the 29th of September 1774, to the 29th of September 1777.

“ That an account be laid before the House of all the officers appointed to collect the stamp duty, if any were, in America, for the years 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778.

“ That an account be laid before the House of all the recruits raised within Great Britain and Ireland since September 29, 1774.

“ That an account be laid before the House of all the persons appointed by government to act in the commissariat of America, viz. all victuallers, agents, commissaries of stores, clerks of stores, &c. from September 29, 1774, to September 29, 1777.”

All these motions passed without opposition. The report on the grant of 682,816l. for the charge of the office of ordnance, for ordinaries and extraordinaries of the ensuing year being made,

Sir P. J.
Clerke.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* moved to recommit the report, which he supported with the following speech :

When I am called upon to vote this enormous supply, I hope I shall not be thought irregular, if I deviate a little from the immediate question before us, and say a few words on the great American business, which is the occasion of the present demand.

Shocked as I was at hearing of the fate of General Burgoyne and his army, I did presume to hope, that some possible good might be produced, as it often happens, from great evil. I began to think, that disappointment and misfortune might bring those who have the conduct of our American affairs to a more temperate and moderate way of thinking, and incline them to turn their thoughts to that which is the object of almost every person in this kingdom, peace and conciliation. I was justified in that expectation, because the noble Lord who presides over the American department, when he came here the day before, with the extraordinary Gazette in his hand, full of victory, full of triumph, told us then, it was not yet a time for peace. What does the noble Lord tell us now ? We are defeated, we must not be discouraged, we must renew our efforts, for there are great resources still left in this country. Neither victory nor defeat then are to produce any good to this country ; for if victory was not to be the means, I thought defeat might have been. But whether victors or vanquished, according to the noble Lord's declarations, we are still to pursue this hopeless, ruinous quarrel. The noble Lord has talked of resources still left. Does he think that all the money in this country will be given to support this ill-planned, ill-conducted, sanguinary project ? Has he told the country what benefits are to arise from the success of his plans ? No, Sir, he has not ; but I will venture to pronounce then, that if he was to succeed to the extent of his wishes, no one man in this country could ever obtain the return of a single guinea, for all the blood and
treasure

treasure which has been already so profusely lavished away in this very unnatural contest. Let the noble Lord tell them these truths, before he applies for further support. Conscious of a majority in this House, he sits here, and seems to bid defiance to the country; but let me tell the noble Lord, there is a spirit still left in this country to resent injury, and can resist oppression: I hear nothing, even now, but murmurs and complainings in the streets. When I return to the country, I expect to find dissatisfaction and clamour. Let me advise the noble Lord to be a little cautious, lest those anathemas which he has been so long thundering out against America, should fall with redoubled violence on his own head. It will appear wonderful that the noble Lord, or any man high in office, should so obstinately persist in prosecuting a war against the sense of the people, which must ever be attended with difficulty and danger to the conductors of it, in preference to peace, when he might repose himself in ease and affluence; it wants explanation, and to the public it shall here be explained. The true cause is really this:---the noble Lord knows that he never can make peace with America. The people of that country will have no treaty with him, or any man now in administration. They have long since branded them with the appellation of Tories, and justly have they done it; for they have almost ruined this great empire, by endeavouring to establish an arbitrary, despotic system of government in the colonies. These are the reasons, Sir, why this country and America are both deprived of the blessings of peace; and while that noble Lord can shelter himself in a majority of this House, we have little chance to obtain it but by a remedy which would be worse than the disease. The situation of this country then may be pronounced to be truly deplorable, though I hope some means may be yet thought of to extract us from our present difficulties, even to the satisfaction of all parties. I have no personal dislike to any gentleman in administration. I wish them all well, but I wish them well out of their offices. May I be allowed to make a proposal, which I think might be very advantageous to them and to the public?

There is an establishment in the sea service culculated to support superannuated officers, or who wish to decline further service. Now if an establishment of that sort could take place, and an appointment made for ministers who have proved themselves unable and unfit for service, I think it would, in the present case, remove all difficulties. An appointment

of yellow flag ministers would be no very extraordinary expence; perhaps a hundred thousand pound a year or two, might be sufficient to pay the salaries of all the gentlemen now in office. It would be an easy composition for their past services. The nation would save many millions a year by it: we should be restored to the blessings of peace; our antient grandeur would again revive under the auspices of those great men who have formerly exalted us to the highest pitch of glory. These gentlemen would be in full enjoyment of their emoluments, and would escape the threats and dangers, which hang over their heads, and which must inevitably fall upon them, if they persevere in their endeavour to ruin this country.

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré objected to the enormity of the sum; tho', says he, the vote passed last night in the committee, I think it my duty to object to it; I think it my duty to enquire into the reasons why such a supply is wanted. 683,000l. is a larger sum than was called for in the year 1759, that year in which the British name was in its zenith of fame; when her arms were employed in every part of the world. But permit me to repeat to you, Mr. Speaker, the votes for the five first years of the last war. It will serve, in some degree, to shew the extent of the present contest. The ordnance charge for the first year then, was no more than 300,000l. for ordinaries and extraordinary. The second year's charge was 390,000l. the third year's, 393,000l. the fourth year's, 544,000l. and the fifth year's, which was the greatest year of the British name, no more than 543,000l. This, Sir, is a plain, unornamented tale. There is no figure of rhetoric so demonstrative and convincing as a figure of arithmetic. Our ordnance charge, this year, the fourth of the American war, exceeds by 140,000l. the charge for the year 1759, and is greater than any grant ever made for any one year except 1761, when every resource of this kingdom was strained to an extent unknown before, and incredible even to ourselves; and yet the charge for 1761 exceeds the present by no more than 40,000l. I am hopeful we will seriously investigate the cause of this monstrous charge. At the same time I beg leave to observe, that, in my humble opinion, it is hurtful, nay dangerous, to employ such quantities of artillery; it lulls the spirits of the soldiery into a listless security, prejudicial in the day of fight; they become tame, indolent, and careless; they place their confidence in the artillery which covers them, and not in the bravery of their own efforts. And I leave it to every experienced

experienced soldier, nay to every sensible man, to determine which is the best defence, and the surest bulwark in the day of battle, a range of the heaviest cannon, or a troop of naked soldiery, whose bosoms are intrepid, and steeled to danger. For my part, I would at all times place my safety, not on the vigour of my cannon, but on the bosoms of my men. And I hope we shall be told, why, at this time, it is thought necessary to employ such enormous quantities of an article that, by its enormity, becomes a nuisance.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* apologized for his inability to speak with Sir C. Bun- that dignity that was suitable to the House in which he had bury. then the honour to stand. He had formerly been an advocate, he said, for lenient measures and a reconciliation with the colonies; every day shewed him more and more the necessity of adopting the advice he had presumed to give. America was invincible; the experience of every campaign added credit to the assertion: our resources have been sounded, and sorry he was to say they were not unfathomable: excessive sums are borrowed, and the whole art of financiering ransacked, to find out means of raising the necessary sums to pay the interest. As a country gentleman, he called on his brethren of that denomination to interpose and serve their country; their passive acquiescence to every new burden had made Sir Robert Walpole say, that the landed gentlemen were like the flocks upon their plains; they suffered themselves to be shorn without resistance; while the trading part of the nation resembled the boar, who would not let a bristle be plucked from his back without making the whole parish echo with his complaints: what with specious pretences and fair words to the one, and treasury acorns, with which the other was fed, the minister had effectually silenced the hog, and imposed upon the honest simplicity and patience of the sheep.

What America would do now he would not take upon him to say; but he could assure the House from the authority of a dear, but unfortunate relation of his, the unhapy General Lee, that the Americans would, at the beginning of the dispute, have been perfectly satisfied to submit in every respect to Great Britain, provided they should be at liberty to raise, by what means they thought proper, any sum which the Parliament of England should demand of them. He could not tell whether they would make such an offer now: but he would put them to the test; and, by offering them peace, employ the only possible means to subdue them; and that was by dividing

dividing them: Their independence was carried in the Congress but by a majority of two; it is therefore probable, that a strong party might be brought over, by granting them honourable terms: etiquette, punctilio, and every consideration of that kind should be given up: the public good should overbalance every motive of that nature. The state physicians had employed wrong remedies to cure them; they prescribed blisters, and set their patients mad: for his part, as he was but an humble apothecary in politics, he would apply a healing plaister. It might be objected, that, perhaps, they would not bear it: he would in that case make use both of persuasion and force. The ingredients of his plaister were a repeal of all the laws enacted against them since the beginning of the disturbances; and a positive renunciation on the part of the Parliament to any claim of right to tax the colonies. This was a remedy which he flattered himself would still be able to effect a cure.

He alluded to Mr. Rigby's assertion in the committee last night, that he had been invariably consistent in his political tenets for thirteen years; for his part, he was of opinion with the author of *Tristram Shandy*, that what in a good cause should be called perseverance, in a bad one deserves no other name than that of obstinacy; it was possible, that the right honourable gentleman might have been wrong for a great part of the time he mentioned; in his opinion he certainly was wrong; he therefore did not think he had a right to plume himself so much upon his consistency. He did not approve of the Solicitor's endeavours to rouse the spirit of the nation to a further exertion, when it seemed already to have been screwed up to the highest key, without bringing us a jot nearer to a conquest of America. He let fall some expressions rather injurious to the consistency of General Conway's politicks.

He said, so long as there was a prospect of success, or any real advantage from conquest, if we should prevail, he supported the measures of administration; but when it was acknowledged to be impracticable, by the very minister who had the conduct of our American affairs; and that the noble Lord owned, that if we should subdue America, it would not be worth keeping; he could no longer, consistent with his conscience, vote for a continuation of measures, which could be productive of no good; and would, if persisted in, most probably bring on ruin and destruction.---The contest with America struck him in this light before he heard it acknowledged

ledged by the noble Lord. Towards the conclusion of the last session, he was persuaded of the truth of what he now said; and as soon as he was, he most earnestly recommended peace. He now did the same; and sincerely wished, that some person who was in his Majesty's confidence, having the salvation of his country at heart, would advise him to consider of the impending calamities, which threatened this country, should the present ruinous system of blood, waste of treasure, and carnage, continue to be longer pursued.

Mr. George Onslow, to defend every measure recommended by those who were in command, insisted, that *Mr. George Onslow.* it was better to lose America by arms than by treaty; negotiation would put an end to any further claim, while even a total defeat did not preclude us from renewing the war whenever we should find ourselves able to prosecute it with a probability of success: the positive, the inevitable, the immediate consequence of American independence must be the loss of Newfoundland, and all our sugar islands: for by their alliance with France and Spain, their united fleets in that part of the world would be much too powerful for any force we could keep there.

He voted against the repeal of the stamp act; because he was of opinion, that we had a right to tax America; and he was satisfied that the country gentlemen were so thoroughly convinced of the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies, that they would never have consented to a repeal of the stamp act, if it had not been accompanied with the declaratory act.

He did not hesitate to affirm, with a knowledge of the *regio del stato*, delicacy, and grace peculiar to himself, that the rebellion in America was fomented, nourished, and supported by the inflammatory speeches, and other means, used by the incendiaries in that House; but he trusted the nation, notwithstanding all the disasters which had happened, was still equal to the chastisement of all its foreign and domestic foes.

Mr. Thomas Townshend answered the reflections of *Mr. Thomas Townshend.* the last gentleman in a cool and conclusive manner; and having called back the House to the question, he insisted upon knowing why so immense a sum was necessary, and he hoped some gentlemen in office would explain it in a clear and distinct manner. He likewise observed, that we had taken the most effectual method to drive the Americans into the arms of France and Spain, by the prohibitory, and the other cruel,

cruel, unjust, and oppressive laws we had passed.---They were now no less formidable at sea than land. Their navy, and he might fairly justify the expression, had thrown the capital of our sister kingdom, into the utmost confusion. Liverpool was threatened; Glasgow in danger; and the very channel of St. George, saw their ships ride with impunity, nay triumph, along our coasts.

Gen. Conway.

General *Conway* made a short reply to the inuendo thrown out by Sir Charles Bunbury; and told Mr. Barré he was sorry it was not in his power to give him the information he required; but that he believed that when the proper officer should have laid before the House the necessary papers, the honourable gentleman would have no reason to be dissatisfied.

Sir Charles Cocks.

Sir *Charles Cocks* then rose, and said he should be happy to give all the information in his power to the House; and he was sensible, he said, that he could make it appear, that no want of œconomy in the board or offices of ordnance gave rise to the advanced charge. He then enumerated the several appointments of the artillery; but from the lowness of his voice, and the variety of the particulars, it is not in our power to give a particular account. The great reasons of the advance in the charge this year from the last, are several, but mostly belong to the civil board in repairing garrisons, forts, &c. There has been, indeed, an augmentation of 944 men, recruited at a great expence since last year, and the difference of the charge, upon the whole, is 56,000l.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* then rose, and after expressing his surprize at the enormity of the charge, he told the House he was the representative of one of the first counties, and most populous, commercial town, except London, in the kingdom. He believed his constituents paid one tenth part of the supplies granted by this House; he therefore thought it his duty to search into the reasons of the supply called for; and, as this appeared so enormous and unreasonable, unprecedented and unaccountable, he would have the most particular information. He would be acquainted with every item---he would know every reason for the grant---he should consider himself a thief, without interest, if he permitted his constituents' pockets to be picked without being told for what or wherefore. The honourable gentleman who spoke last, says he, has told us it is not owing to the improvidence of office, nor to the extravagance of the several departments, that the advance is owing---he has told us all he can tell

tell---he has satisfied us in regard to his and his colleague's œconomy. They have barely executed the orders they have received. But I want to hear the reasons of those orders---I want to hear why such quantities of ordnance, and such numbers of men, were wanted. Some person in the cabinet *must, shall* inform me. I will not leave this seat, nor depart from this House, till I am satisfied. I think I shall be excused by my country, if I speak again and again on the subject---if I transgress the point of order, and urge my suit by many repetitions. I shall think myself within the best point of order, if I adhere to the interest of my constituents, and not have their pockets picked for moonshine. I promise you, Mr. Speaker, I will not go to supper, nor regard order, till I am satisfied. What! the enormous sum of 683,000*l.* for ordnance, 140,000*l.* more than was voted for the year 1759, when we were at war with France and Spain, and had armies in America, in the West-Indies, and over all Europe, and immense fleets full of cannon over all the world, in every sea, and in every climate. Is it not strange and unaccountable---ought we not to enquire into this new proof of ministerialism? In 1759, we employed 250,000 men. This year we have 89,000, and yet a greater sum by 140,000*l.* is wanted to supply the ordnance. Common sense revolts at the idea---laughs at the absurdity. He then went into a long disquisition, and in a progressive order enumerated the many measures of government that had induced him to be consistent in abominating the war: and concluded with calling again for information.

Mr. *Langlois* said, one great reason of the advance was, that the train were acting in a hostile country in every sense of the word, so that every equipment was prepared and forwarded from hence at a greater expence than usual. Mr. Langlois.

Mr. *Burke* owned, he was obliged to the honourable gentleman for his explanation. America was an hostile country; and our troops met the most absolute hostility ever known; but that was no reason.---He wanted to be informed particularly, why such equipments were necessary, and why so many men were there? Mr. Burke.

Sir *Charles Frederick* said, that sending the artillery companies in three different bodies, to serve under as many generals in different places, had been attended with double the expence of what would have been necessary, had they served in one corps; that the foreign troops in British pay in the last war, found themselves in ammunition, and that was the reason Sir Charles Frederick.

son why the estimate in 1759 was not more than double what it appears to have been, as that was an estimate only for ordnance stores for the British troops.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* lamented that the general of the ordnance did not sit in that House; and called upon the members of the cabinet-council to give the desired explanation.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* said, he was very unhappy to hear it, though it was very true, "we do pay for all"---but he nevertheless insisted on knowing, why the foreign troops were not on the same footing as during the late war?

Ld. North. Lord *North* rose, and said, that though we had 250,000 men in pay in the year 1759, yet the ordnance estimate was made only for the British forces, which were only a very small part of that number. That the subsidies paid to the German princes included the ammunition, stores, &c. and were provided for apart and independent of the ordnance estimate: that he had not expected such a motion would have been made, or he would have examined the estimates of 1759; that he would take the first opportunity to do it, and imagined upon enquiry he would be found to be right in his opinion. There were a thousand other circumstances, which constituted the difference; but the chief was, the including in the one, and the excluding from the other, the expence of the German artillery.---We paid for them at both periods; but in 1759, the charge, though in effect essentially the same, was placed to a separate account.---He would however compare the estimates, which would enable him to give a more particular and full explanation on a future day.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* said, he was happy, that he had set the premier to study: and he should depend upon his honour, for a satisfactory answer.---The resolutions were severally agreed to, and the mutiny-bill ordered in.

Lord Beauchamp. Lord *Beauchamp* moved the third reading of the bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus law. *Mr. Bayly* objected, saying it was cruel and cowardly to continue the imprisonment of those, whom ministers durst not punish. Ministers knew, if they hanged any of the prisoners, under the pretence of their being rebels, the Americans would retaliate; therefore, he said, looking at the Treasury-bench, with malice in your hearts, you thus confine them by law, till the end of the war, in order then to hang them, if you dare. The bill passed on a division of 116 to 60.

December 5.

The private business of the day being gone through, Colonel *Barré*, nel *Barré* made among others the following motions, "That copies or extracts of all letters relating to reinforcements, of the

the ships, mariners, or land-forces received by the secretaries of state, from General Gage, Lord Howe, General Howe, and General Carleton, from the 5th of July 1775 to the 1st of September 1777, be laid before this House."

Mr. *Jenkinson* objected to the motion, because the noble Lord [Lord George Germaine] was absent, to whose department it pointed; and in whose choice the propriety of agreeing to it ought in some measure to lie. He said, that for his own part he was totally ignorant of the meaning of the question in regard to effect; he knew not how far it might extend; how far be proper; and how far it might effect any particular man or men; yet he conceived an impropriety in thus moving for papers, when so few members were in the House; and particularly, when the noble Lord was absent, who knew best the propriety of submitting them to the House. He therefore would beg leave, he said, to put the previous question, that the motion should be laid by till a future day; when it might be debated in a full House.

Colonel *Barré* answered that he meant not to steal an occasion from the thinness of the House, to gain a motion, which he supposed would be rejected, in a full House. He wished for no sinister end; and he would practise no underhand method. The motion he had made respected papers of the utmost consequence to be known; and that previous to the day of general enquiry. He therefore thought it his duty to call for them in time, that they might be seen and examined, that they might be known and digested, before the day arrived. If the House was thin, it was none of his fault; he expected a full House; and if the noble Lord was absent, he might with propriety ask, Why he was so? It was his business and duty to attend; but he begged to be understood, that he meant to throw no blame on the noble Lord, for his absence. It might be occasioned from many unavoidable causes, from business, from necessary engagements, from sickness; but there was another noble Lord in the House, who, as well as the noble Lord absent, must know the propriety or the impropriety of granting the motion as he must have seen the papers called for. But as he had been reprehended for moving the question, at this particular period, he would in a few words inform the House of the true reason. He had been very greatly surpris'd, by hearing, that a resolution had been made, to sit on Saturday for the purpose of passing two money-bills, on Wednesday, for the dispatch of business; and then to adjourn for the holidays. This he confessed

ferred had most particularly induced him to make the motion on that day, since none other was properly reserved for it. As to the thinness of the House, if that was the only objection, there was no necessity of laying by the question, since the House would fill apace; or if they wished a negative to be put upon the question, he was well apprized, that a nod, or a wink of theirs, would bring as full a House as they could wish. Why then, he continued, will they descend to so mean an artifice? why not speak as men? and if they wish it to be over-ruled, say *no* to it at once? He concluded with observing, that it was a motion of the utmost extent, it would lead to information of the greatest importance; and he would pledge his honour to the House, that from the papers called for, circumstances would appear that would make the nation shudder, and the most obstinate man recede from his opinion.

Mr. Well-
bore Ellis.

Mr. *Wellebore Ellis* repeated the arguments of the honourable gentleman [Mr. Jenkinson] for objecting to the motion. He said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, from the multiplicity of business that called for his attention, could not be supposed to retain so far the subject-matter of the papers called for, as to be able, at a moment's recollection, to decide on the propriety of introducing them into the House; whereas the noble Lord absent, from his more immediate concern in that department, would, he doubted not, be able to determine instantly on the propriety or impropriety of the motion; and therefore he would vote for the previous question.

Rt. Hon. T.
Townshend.

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* owned himself surprised, that so lame an objection should be so obstinately persevered in. It was somewhat singular, he said, that after sending for more than thirty members to support them in this question, they had not thought it expedient to send for the noble Lord, who seemed to be the principal agent in the business. They had dragged many an unwilling gentleman, he would answer for it, from his dinner to attend them; and who had entered with that vacancy of face, which expressed their ignorance of the business for which they were called; but who, as trusty servants, were prepared for whatever piece of service was required; it seemed, he said, from their conduct, that they wished the noble Lord not to come. He then entered into a discussion of the merits of the motion; said it would afford important intelligence to the House on the day of general enquiry; and he earnestly hoped, it would pass.

Mr. *Burke*.

Mr. *Burke* said, he was afraid the honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] for the sake of laying aside for a day, the motion

of his honourable friend, had paid a poor compliment to the memory of the noble Lord [Lord North] near him. He was far however from joining in opinion with him. He was well convinced, that the noble Lord's memory was very retentive. He heard many proofs of it; and would be bold to say, that no man possessed more eminently the virtue of recollection, or more lavishly the art of evasion; however improvidentially and unexpectedly taken, the noble Lord never was found deficient in reply; and the frequent practice he enjoyed in this species of debate, made it easy and familiar to him. He seemed indeed to contrive the most lame, absurd, and inconsistent measures, to give him opportunity of shewing his aptitude for defence, and his quickness at reply; so that he had not the smallest reason to doubt, but that if the propriety of the question had been left to himself, his memory would have supplied him with sufficient information for determining his judgment upon it; but such now-a-days were the shifts of administration; some times a noble Lord was absent; and sometimes a noble Lord had forgot; and now from absence, and now from forgetfulness, the ministers of state were supplied with excuses, when their apprehensions would not permit them to advance the true causes of denial. He continued to observe, that from the papers called for, the House would be able to determine, where the failure of General Burgoyne's expedition really belongs; and if censure must follow on it, they should decide, whether it should be pointed against the impotence of the plan, or the indolence of the execution. A noble Lord, he said indeed, declared, and with great effrontery, that if there was any blame, it lay in the contrivance, and not in the execution itself. The papers, however, would best inform the House, and not only would expose the secret foundation of that plan, but would lay a scene of discovering of the whole progress of operation since the commencement of the war; and he concluded by observing, that every gentleman who wished to form an impartial opinion of the present measures, must see the necessity of having these papers before his eye.

Lord North said, notwithstanding the eulogy of the honourable gentleman on the strength of his memory, he often found himself deficient in that respect, and at that time was not really able to say with accuracy, whether the papers could, conveniently to the welfare of the state, be laid before the House. The noble Lord absent was the proper person to speak on the subject; and he conceived it improper and unseasonable, to make such a motion in his absence. He

Ld. North.

knew

knew, he said, why he was absent, but he was sensible, that if he had had the least knowledge of any motion's being intended relating to his office, he would have certainly attended. With regard to the assertion of the former gentleman, that a noble Lord had said, if there was any blame in the expedition of General Burgoyne, it lay in the plan and not in the execution; he begged leave to say, that the gentleman had certainly misunderstood the noble Lord. He believed his words were, or at least his meaning was, that the House should suspend their judgments, till they had enquired, whether the fault lay in the plan or the execution. He sat down with hoping, that the previous question would postpone the motion till the noble Lord be present.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox declared, that he thought it unaccountable, that because a noble Lord was absent, the business of Parliament must stand still. He wished to pay every respect to the noble Lord, but it was the noble Lord's business, and his duty, to attend that House every day. No matter whether he knew of a motion regarding his office, or not. At so critical a period, a juncture so filled with danger, and when the national calamity was so recent, he might look for motions respecting himself every day and every hour. It was impossible that Parliament could think of any thing else, or could admit of motions of another kind; for his part, he could not come down one day without making such motions, without asking questions, and referring to that noble Lord for answer. [Here Lord George Germaine came into the House.] He continued, that now the noble Lord was come, he hoped a sudden period would be put to the question; and he sincerely wished that no foreboding fears might induce him to withhold information, so needful to an enquiry into the state of the nation.

Lord George Germaine.

Lord George Germaine having looked at the motion, objected to it, because he was not sufficiently aware of its consequences. It reached to a period before his introduction into office. It contained the intelligence of several years, and he confessed he was so unprepared, that he could not answer on the propriety of submitting them to the House. At the same time, he declared the purport of those papers would be laid before the House on the day of general enquiry, and he supposed that six weeks would be no material delay in the matter.

Col. Barré.

Colonel Barré said it was exceedingly strange, that the noble Lord should have forgot the contents of letters so very particular,

particular, and in which he was so intimately concerned. He could not imagine that there had been so many letters, as to render the motion of so multiplied an extent; but there was a possibility that the motion might be much more extensive than was generally believed. The noble Lord, he said, had declared that he could not be thought to remember the contents of letters that were lodged in the office previous to his admission. How weak and impotent this defence is, may be proved from a simple comparison of the date of the noble Lord's entry into office, and the periods from which the papers are desired; the one is from the 5th of July, 1775, and the other is the 28th of November of the same year. Is it probable, that the noble Lord can have forgot letters of so short a date before his entry, so materially necessary to his information? It cannot be supposed. What the noble Lord meant by the purport of those papers, he said, he could not tell. If he would pledge himself, that a disclosure of them should be made; or, as he says himself, that the purport should be made known, he would be content. The noble Lord refused both. As to delay of enquiry, he could not agree to it; that was the time for enquiry; punishment indeed, he said, might be delayed for six weeks. He concluded by averring, that both he and many other gentlemen in the House knew it for truth, that several applications, without effect, had been made by the General for reinforcements.

The previous question was put, and agreed to, without a division.

Mr. *D. Hartley*. Sir, the great importance of the subject, Mr. D. Hartley.
upon which I shall offer some opinions to the House this day, will, I hope, plead my apology, for the trouble which I am going to give them. I wish to call their most serious attention to the extravagant and boundless expences of the American war, which after all is an impracticable project, as well as unjust, and universally destructive. I take this early part of the session to state the expences of the war, if it should continue another campaign, that you may be apprized in time. What is called the budget day is usually at the end of the session; when all measures of the year are decided and entered upon, it is then too late to consider of the expences; measures that are predetermined must be supported, cost what they will. But if the enormous expence of this fatal war, and all the ruinous consequences which await the landed and commercial interests of this country, afford
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any arguments to withhold your hand, now is the time to attend to them.

To give you in one view the amount of the American war hitherto, with the superadded expences of only one more campaign, will make a stupendous total. Such a total, as if the House had been apprized of it but two years ago, I think the most bigoted advocate for the war would have hesitated. But it was a master-piece of craft in the administration, to lead us on insensibly, concealing from the public the fatal consequences, till we were plunged in too far to retreat. The House must well remember at the opening of the first session of this parliament, which was the beginning of the war, that a three shilling land-tax was voted before Christmas, to take off the alarms of the landed gentlemen. Your seamen were reduced to a lower establishment than they had been for the four preceding years; they were reduced at the beginning of the session to 16000 men, which is the lowest establishment for profound peace. The minister amused the public in that session with paying off a million of the national debt. All this was done to lead you insensibly on, by false pretences, till it was too late to retreat. Unfortunately the minister obtained his end; the deception was universally encouraged. Those who would have advertised you of these deceptions, and of your dangers, were browbeaten and discountenanced; even a patient hearing was denied to them. In this particular department of the revenue, I have made it my business every year, to lay a true and accurate state before you, in opposition to those premeditated and treacherous fallacies which have been imposed upon the House by the authority of the administration. I should think myself unworthy of any farther confidence of this House, if I had been the author of all those fallacies, which have brought this country to the brink of ruin. But, Sir, I have never deceived you, nor have I offered any idle tales or visionary calculations to the House. Your journals will bear me testimony. The superior authority of the minister's opinion in this House overbore mine. Upon his authority they gave a negative to those estimates and calculations, which, however, in the result have proved true. That they have proved true, this House and the nation now know to their cost. I once more offer myself, in humble deference to their wisdom, but claiming some confidence in their opinion. I say to you, now; Trust no longer those false prophets, who have so constantly misled and deceived you. Your hasty confidence in

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these deceivers has already cost you twenty millions, and perhaps twenty thousand lives. Stop here, and consider a little the business which you are involved in. If the warning which you have had from a cruel and destructive experience, will not make you wiser, I know not what will; but henceforward, at least, that blindness and cruelty must be wilful, which can proceed to sacrifice thousands upon thousands of the lives of your fellow subjects; and of those unfortunate men, who would still have been our fellow subjects, had it not been for the dark and ruinous counsels and conduct of our ministers. Why will you add another twenty millions to all the waste of public money, which has already been so profusely lavished?

I have prepared estimates of the expences, which probably may be incurred, if you proceed to another campaign; which if the House is so disposed, I will lay before them. According to my computation, the total of the American war, as supposed to continue only for one more campaign, in the year 1778, will amount to between thirty and forty millions. The documents, upon which I form this opinion, are now lying upon your table. I have collected out from the papers of the House, the expences of the navy, army, and ordnance, during the late war, and in the present war, both upon the ordinary estimates, and the extraordinary and contingent expences. I have endeavoured to select such circumstances as are similar to the present; and to adapt others, with such suitable allowances, as may assist us in the enquiry. My first motion is conceived in very general terms, viz. that it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of the American war, must be attended with an *enormous* expence. The term *enormous* is the favourite word of the noble Lord at the head of the treasury; therefore, Sir, I think I may depend upon him, for seconding this preliminary motion of mine. My second motion, is the specific point upon which the debate will turn, viz. Whether the total expence of the American war may probably, by the end of the next campaign, amount to between thirty and forty millions. My reason for putting the preliminary motion as I have done, is this; that in the debate upon the first motion, the specific matter of the second motion will be discussed; and if upon that discussion it should appear to the House, that any other probable total is nearer to the presumptive proofs, I shall be open to conviction, and ready to alter the terms of the second motion, according to

the result of the debate. If the account be over-rated, or under-rated, I can rectify accordingly; but let us at least know, what is the probable estimate that we must reckon upon. Call it near thirty millions, or more than thirty, or between thirty and forty; I believe this last phrase will be nearer than any other. I have always submitted my thoughts fairly and openly to the House, and to the comments of the noble Lord at the head of the treasury: the estimates which I formerly laid before you, have never been found fallacious or extravagant. Surely, Sir, I ask nothing unreasonable; I only ask that you will think before you act.

I am aware of an objection which the noble Lord may make, not to the matter, but to the time. It may be said, that this discussion more properly belongs to the committee upon the state of the nation, which is appointed to sit after the holidays. To which I can only reply, that I am solicitous to throw out to the House, the state of the concomitant expences of the war, in the earliest part of the session, hand in hand with your vote for the land-tax, that the landed gentlemen may be apprized what they are preparing for themselves. If they do not interpose, to stop the farther progress of this destructive war, four shillings in the pound will be entailed upon them for ever: and I will venture to prophesy to them, that four shillings in the pound, will not be all that they will have to pay. In the consideration of an infinite multitude of matters, which will come before the committee upon the state of the nation, the landed interest may not have that pre-eminent consideration that I wish. I look upon the landed gentlemen as the watchmen and guardians of the state, therefore I would have a word with them in the foremost place, and before the storm rages, which is coming on apace, to confound land, funds, manufactures, and commerce in one common ruin.

The ruin is universal, and without bounds; your naval power will be exhausted, and the very sources of it destroyed; your armies are baffled and disgraced; one entire army is swallowed up, and perhaps another may soon be in a condition not much better. I pretend not to any sagacity above other persons, but I have endeavoured to get the best information of the temper and powers of America, from the wisest and most informed persons, and from those who are at all times friends to reconciliation and peace, and who have been very sincerely well-affected towards this country. I told you, three years ago, that America would turn out an army of 50,000 men, which you
then

then laughed at, and would not believe. I have told you that they were united, and that you could not touch an hair of the head of America: you have found it true. The men that you send thither are devoted to certain destruction. *Ibunt et redibunt nunquam.* The whole conduct of the ministers of this country has been folly and impotent rage. If they cannot conquer, they will destroy. Every salutary warning has been despised; prudent plans and counsels, as well as pernicious ones, have been laid before you. It cannot be doubted but that Dr. Franklin was well acquainted with the true state and temper of his own country, and of his own countrymen. He has given full warning to this country, both in public and in private, of the ruinous consequences of the measures which have been adopted. The prudence of his advice, and prophetic warnings to this country, stand upon record; he gave them publicly at your bar in the year 1766; he gave a most material helping hand towards the restoration of peace in that happy year; if his advice had been followed in the subsequent measures, we should not now be dipped in blood. I will, with permission, read to the House a letter which I received from him in the year 1775, at a time when we were all fellow-subjects together, and before that fatal prohibitory act, by which you cast your colonies out from your protection. I did read it to you in my place, within a few days after I received it; but you were then confident of having America under your feet, and despised every proposition recommending peace and lenient measures. The letter is as follows:

Philadelphia, October 3, 1775.

“ I wish as earnestly as you can do for peace, and should
“ rejoice exceedingly to co-operate with you for that end;
“ but every ship from Great-Britain brings some intelligence
“ of new measures that tend more to exasperate; and it
“ seems to me, that until you have found, by dear experi-
“ ence, the reducing us by force impracticable, you will
“ think of nothing fair or reasonable. We have, as yet,
“ only resolved on defensive measures. If you would recall
“ your forces, and stay at home, we should meditate nothing
“ against you. A little time so given for cooling on both
“ sides, might have excellent effects. But you will goad and
“ provoke us; you despise us too much; and you are insen-
“ sible of the Italian adage, That there is no little enemy. I
“ am persuaded the body of the British people are our friends;
“ but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes

“ may soon be made our enemies. Our respect for them
“ will proportionably diminish ; and I see clearly we are on
“ the high-road towards perpetual enmity, hatred, and de-
“ testation. A separation will of course be inevitable. 'Tis
“ a million of pities so fair a plan as we have been engaged
“ in, for encreasing strength and empire with public felicity,
“ should be destroyed by the mangling hands of blundering
“ ministers. It will not be destroyed. God will protect
“ and prosper it. You will only exclude yourselves from
“ any share in it. We hear more troops and ships are
“ coming out. We know you may do us a great deal of
“ mischief ; but we are determined to bear it ; patiently as
“ long as we can ; but if you flatter yourselves with beating
“ us into submission, you know neither the people nor the
“ country. The Congress is still sitting, and will wait the
“ result of their *last* petition.”

And what was the result of this *last* petition ? His Majesty was advised by his ministers, fatally for the honour, interest, and justice of this country, to say, that no answer should be given. What then was there left for the Americans, but to take up arms in their own defence, when their petitions were rejected unheard, and the whole force of this country, and all the mercenary forces of Europe, were sent to invade them ?

I have often said in this House, and I must repeat it, that I shall never call these men rebels, nor their cause rebellion, but a justifiable resistance. You cannot look into your own bill of rights, but you will see a formal recognition of the right of resistance in the subject. When the liberties and privileges of a British subject are invaded, and his petitions rejected, every such subject has a right to the use of arms in his own defence. So says the act which is declaratory of the rights of the British constitution, and the corner-stone of all the liberties which we enjoy in this country. As, in my opinion, upon these constitutional principles, the resistance in the beginning of these troubles was justifiable on the part of the Americans, who were then our fellow-subjects ; I must now, upon the same principles, consider our perseverance as the continuation of an unjust war on our part against them. And what have you got by this war ? You have gained nothing, but you have lost thirteen provinces. It is to those ministers, who have systematically invaded their rights, and rejected all their petitions, that you are indebted for this loss ; they have summed up all their pernicious measures in this *last*

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fatal act, of advising the King to reject unheard the united petition of all the American colonies. That man has much to answer for to this country, who advised that fatal measure; and I hope the time will come, when this House will address the King to know who did advise it. It was done just upon the eve of the accession to office, of the noble Lord who is now at the head of the American department. I do not charge it upon him, because I have no specific grounds for such a charge; but thus much I am free to say, that the spirit of such a measure is more conformable to the system which has been followed since his accession to office, than to the system which prevailed before, and which was set aside to make way for him. Of another fact, however, we are well assured, and of the author and adviser. Since the noble Lord at the head of the American department came into office, his Majesty has been advised not to lay the least scrap of information before the House. Before that time we had some information from the correspondence of the plantation-office laid before us. That information was partial indeed, and garbled; but now the minister holds up his head in a haughtier stile; he does not condescend to take the least notice of Parliament, or to give us the least scrap of information. We know that he is responsible, and that by secreting all information, he takes a great risque of responsibility upon himself: but what is the consideration of a private person to the great interests of the whole state at large? If he shall ever be found to have secreted information from Parliament, which might have guided the counsels of this House to other measures, the responsibility of a private man can be no adequate recompence to his country, for having led them blindfold to ruin.

What then is there left for us to do in this disastrous state of things? Indeed, Sir, I can hardly see one ray of hope. You would not hearken to advice in time. You would not offer any conditional terms of submission to your colonies. You gave them no alternative, but independence, or unconditional submission. They are now in possession of independence, and you cannot wrest it from them. Sir, you know my sentiments upon this matter of independence; I have laid them before the House upon former occasions. I confess, that I do not see the horrors attending the legislative independence of your colonies, that many persons do. If I could flatter myself, that the House would consent patiently to hear such a proposition debated, I think their terrors would
vanish;

vanish ; and after all, you cannot help yourselves. There is no wisdom in declaring a thing inadmissible, that certainly must and will come to pass. If the House would lend a favourable ear to such a proposition, I should conceive a ray of hope, that things might still end well.

I have in my hand a proposition, which I read to the House last year, drawn up in the shape of a proposed address to the King. Perhaps a cooler reflection, and the course of events which have lately happened, and the present state of your affairs, may induce the House to lend a tolerating ear. I will, with their permission (as they seem not unwilling to hearken at least) repeat such parts of that proposed address, as contain the arguments for the legislative independence of America. If I were permitted, I would recommend to the House to lay sentiments before the King to the following effect---That all good government is established for the safety and content of the people, as expressed by the general voice and common consent of the members of any community ; and that whatever superintending power or controul a parent state may be intitled to, in the infancy of any colony, as for the common good of any such colony in its infancy, yet that the ultimate end of all colonization is, and ought to be, to establish kindred and derivative communities into perfect societies, in the fullness of population, settlement, prosperity and power. These principles are not only founded in the nature of mankind, but are peculiarly applicable to our own colonists, who carried out with them, into their foreign settlements, the seeds of the British constitution, which we flatter ourselves to be the happiest and most free in the world. These colonies, under the auspicious and friendly eye of the parent state, have at length out-grown the imbecilities of their infant state, and approach to the maturity of settlement and population, and all the arts of life ; and thereby are become capable of that glorious inheritance of perfect freedom, which their parent state has in former times rescued out of the hands of tyrants, with a view to assert it for the common good and use of mankind, and particularly to transmit it entire to their own descendants. As no country can arrive at its full perfection, while it is confined in the powers of a free legislation respecting the concerns of its own internal policy ; and as the transition of colonies from the controul of a distant parent state, to the absolute possession, in full right, of all their legislative powers, must inevitably (at a certain period of connexion between

between the parent state and its colonies) disturb, or at least for a time suspend, the harmony of affection and mutual correspondence of interests; and as the course of the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, has led to that dangerous point of contention, which being originally inherent in the relation of parent state and colony, now shews itself so serious in its aspect, as perhaps to threaten, if not amicably adjusted, the ruin of one or both countries; your Commons therefore think it wise and prudent, to follow the apparently natural and unavoidable course of things; and to bestow upon the colonies an entire freedom of their legislative powers within themselves; hoping thereby to lay a foundation, for a perpetual and indissoluble bond of affection and alliance, in every respect as beneficial to both countries, as the connexion which has hitherto subsisted between them, in the mutual relation of parent state and colony; and with this additional hope of permanence, that, according to all human prudence, such connexions, in which there is no latent principle of future discord, may be trusted and relied upon, for the cordial restoration of peace, and for all the blessings of reconciliation between this country, and the offspring of its own liberty, formed in the perfect resemblance of its own constitution, and transplanted into the new world of America. Your faithful Commons therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, to order an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, for the sake of preventing any farther effusion of blood; and to concur with your Parliament upon the ground-work of the foregoing principles and considerations, in laying a foundation for reconcilment and perpetual peace between this country and America.

To this proposition, Sir, I would annex, as the concomitant condition on the other side, a compact of trade to be observed by the Americans, similar to that which subsisted between the two countries before the rupture. Upon the admission of these combined propositions, I would propose to proceed upon them as fundamentals, in the negotiation of a perpetual foederal alliance in all its distributive parts.

Sir, I should once more ask your pardon for having given you and the House so much trouble. I am very sensible of their goodness and indulgence. The result of every argument that I have ever offered to the House upon American subjects has been, by some cast or other, to seek the practicable means of restoring peace. It is, and ever will be the sole object of all my anxiety and labours in the public cause.

I will

I will now read to the House the several motions which I have to offer, as they stand in order.

That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of the American war must be attended with an enormous expence.

That it is the opinion of this House, that the expences of another campaign in the year 1778, added to the expences already incurred in the American war, may probably amount to a sum not less than between 30 and 40 millions sterling, which must create an alarming increase of the principal and interest of the national debt; and must require many additional heavy and burdensome taxes, land-taxes, as well as other taxes, upon the British subjects to defray.

That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of the American war must be destructive of the navigation, commerce, riches and resources of this country, as well as of the lives of his Majesty's subjects; and that it will leave us in an exhausted state, with our land and sea forces at the distance of three thousand miles, open to the insults or attack of any secret or insidious enemy to this country.

That it is the opinion of this House, that it is unbecoming the wisdom and prudence of Parliament, to proceed any farther in the support of this fruitless, expensive and destructive war; more especially without any specific terms of accommodation declared.

Ld. North. Lord *North* objected to the motions, because he said, they were out of time, and improper. He never heard such motions made in a House; they were proper for a Committee. As to the first, he said, no one could object to it. He himself confessed, that it must be attended with enormous expence, but that it was impossible for the House, in his opinion, to decide on the next, before the day of general discussion, when they had every fact before them, and could be able to determine with propriety.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* rose, and here a sort of byc-battle commenced between him and Lord *Lisburne*, on a passage in the last Gazette, where General *Vaughan* says, he went to Esopus, "because it was a nursery for every villain in the country, and when he arrived there, they fired from the windows at his men, which brought him to the necessity of reducing the place to ashes." Mr. *Burke* said, this passage was obscure, and that he saw no sufficient reason for burning the town. Lord *Lisburne*, in private, conferred with him upon it; when he told the noble Lord, he saw no good reason that General *Vaughan*

Vaughan had for going to Esopus at all. The contest continued until

Sir *George Savile* said, he wished to bring back the attention of the House to the question, and assured the treasury-bench, he would also pay them in good time, a very proper attention. After which, he insinuated something of impeachments, adding, that though the people of England were sometimes apt to be mild, they were at other times as apt to be in great heat. He said, he agreed with his honourable friend, whose calculations and labours he highly complimented, but he was not for treating with America as an independent state. Sir *George Savile*.

Governor *Johnstone* said, he would take occasion from the draught of the address, which Mr. Hartley opened in his speech to the House, to give to the House his opinion of the ground on which any peace with the colonies should be made. He compared the rights and constitution of which the colonies were, by law, in possession, to a copyhold right, held from the original possessor, who had the freehold, but a copyhold of defined and unimpeachable rights, subject, however, to the condition of the tenure. By so much as this sort of rights (however it became so) was inferior to a freehold, by so much more we were bound to guard and maintain these rights of theirs under our protection. If we invaded them, we thereby gave them a right to enquire, by what original right we assumed, that the tenure and their rights and possession were of this inferior nature. We gave them a right to resist and to rebel. He could not therefore, he said, adopt the ideas of Mr. Hartley, at least in the form in which they were contained in the draught of the address, as it put the colonies on the ground of independence. Though he should always maintain the rights of the Americans, as colonists, yet he never could adopt the idea of their independence. He always thought the letting the colonies loose, to be a dangerous measure. Governor *Johnstone*.

Mr. *Burke* said, he thought [here he was called to order by Colonel Onslow, who said he had spoken before, and that it was against order to speak again; but the House, almost unanimously called upon Mr. Burke to go on] it ought to be the end of every plan of peace, to get the colonies as much subordinate as we can keep them with their consent. But at the same time, he disapproved of thus laying down lines and measures, in matters which must be determined as future events would permit us to act. Mr. *Burke*.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said, as so much had been said about offering terms, and nothing as to the nature of those terms, he thought this would be a proper opportunity, as there would be no other before the House adjourned, to give his opinion what the terms ought to be---that he thought we ought to give America perfect security on the subject of taxation and her charters---that this would be the proper preliminary of a treaty, for that however the people whose spirits were warmest in America might look upon independence, yet there were others who looked back to their old connections with this country, and that this measure would at least divide America. I would treat with them on the very topic whether they should be independent or not; but my wish is, that America may remain dependent upon this country. I am no friend to the independence of America; nevertheless, if no better terms can be had, I would treat with them as allies. They might be good and useful allies, nor do I fear the consequence of their independence.

Sir William Gordon.

Sir William Gordon recommended coercive measures; hoped no treaty whatever would be commenced, until America had laid aside her claim of independence.

Col. Onslow.

Colonel Onslow closed the debate; and the question being severally put upon Mr. Hartley's motions, they were all negatived without a division. The House was up at ten o'clock.

December 6.

No debate. Adjourned to December 10.

December 10.

Mr. T. Townshend.

As soon as the members had taken their places, Mr. T. Townshend begged that the minister [the noble Lord in the blue ribbon] or some of his friends, would rise and say, if the report of an adjournment to take place that evening was true, and that it was to be till the 20th of January. He asked the question thus early, that gentlemen might be informed of what was intended. He reserved himself to offer his reasons why the adjournment to a remote day would be improper when the question should come before the House.

Ld. North.

Lord North said, he had heard such a motion was intended to be made, as soon as the order of the day should be disposed of.

Mr. Wilkes.

Mr. Wilkes. I chose from motives of policy to delay the motion, which I mean now to submit to the House, till the establishments both of the navy and army for the ensuing year

year were coinpleated. After such prodigious preparations for war, after every single article, which the ministers have asked, has been granted, and we are armed at every point for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, we may with more appearance of dignity hold out propositions for peace. This House, Sir, has voted 60,000 seamen, including near 12,000 marines, above 20,000 effective landmen, commission and non-commission officers included, for guards, garrisons, and the forces to be kept up in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey. We have besides in our pay five battalions of Hanoverians, actually in garrison, to the eternal reproach of England, at Gibraltar and Minorca; the various troops of Hesse Cassel, Hanau, Waldeck, Brunswick, Brandebourgh, Anspach, and Anhalt-Zerbst, amounting to above 69,000 of those mercenaries: in all, a land army of more than 89,000 men. This House has not yet been assembled three weeks, and we have already voted away of the people's money no less a sum than 8,643,000*l*. I believe this is only the sixteenth day since the opening of the session. Every day of the present session then has, on an average, cost the people above 500,000*l*. What a relief to their fears, Sir, will be the adjournment which ministers have just mentioned, for near six weeks? How much will it augment the festivity of the season! Yet, I fear, Sir, it is a mere temporary relief. Do not ministers only retire to return with redoubled fury, to lay fresh burthens and impositions on this exhausted nation?

Amidst all these amazing preparations for war, scarcely a thought, or a sigh for peace, seems to intrude upon, or escape, any one of our ministers. What single step has been taken by administration to put an end to this ruinous war, and to prevent the farther effusion of human blood? A noble Lord [Marquis of Granby] on this side of the House, who is the worthy heir of the patriotic virtues of an illustrious father, proposed on the first day of this session an immediate cessation of arms, but the proposition was rejected by a great majority. Scarcely a hint of a wish for peace has been made by any member of administration. I will not, however, Sir, be dispirited. Some late events, unknown to the House at that time, may induce the most violent to listen to those healing measures, which in the insolence of our imagined triumphs, we rejected with disdain. The preliminary of peace, which I shall take the liberty of submitting to the House, strikes at the root of the evil,

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the confessed cause and origin of the American war. I mean, Sir, the right of taxation, which is enacted in the declaratory act, the repeal of which I shall presently move. I believe, Sir according to the forms of the House, I must first desire the Clerk to read the act. It is the 6th of the King, chapter the 12th. [The Clerk reads.] "To make laws to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever." I believe, Sir, this is the shortest compendium of slavery ever given. It is the broadest basis of tyranny. "In all cases whatsoever!" Therefore in taxation. Three millions of freemen to be taxed at the arbitrary will and pleasure of this House; without a single person to represent them, or to controul the expenditure of their money! If the Americans could tamely submit to this, they would deserve to be slaves. They ought to be more contemned than the Cappadocians of infamous memory, who refused the liberty which was offered them by the Romans. If we can take a part of their property without their consent, we can take the whole. It is impossible to draw the line. This House might vote away the whole property of America without the consent of one man on that vast continent. The very supposition is not only repugnant to every idea of the common rights of mankind, but "it is against the franchises of the land for freemen to be taxed but by their consent in Parliament," as Lord Coke declares. We know by the law of England, that the Protestant subjects of our colonies in America are intitled to all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the natural-born subjects of this kingdom. The next step to taxation naturally follows. Ministers might apply an American revenue to the advancement of thier own profligate plans, perhaps to the same base purposes as the taxes levied among us, to the augmentation of an enormous civil list, to increase the overgrown influence of the crown, and corrupt the representatives of the people. Without this taxation we have experienced that the whole produce of American industry centered in Great Britain. I do not intend, Sir, to go into a disquisition of the stale question of taxation and representation, nor the wretched nonsense of virtual representation here of three millions of our American subjects. I remember once before to have fully argued those questions. I shall now confine myself to the repeal of the declaratory act, and the other acts injurious to the freedom of America. Without this repeal we cannot, I am satisfied, have peace, nor I believe would the Ameri-

cans treat with you on any other terms. They proceeded at the beginning with wonderful temper and moderation ; but at last they summed up all their injuries as comprised in the declaratory act, which they reprobated with spirit. While this act remains in the statute book, you never can think of any negotiation with the Congress. The first Congress, which met in 1774, acted with calm dignity and prudence, with moderation and magnanimity. They did not directly attack the declaratory act. They knew it had passed in an administration composed of men, who declared themselves friends to American freedom, and had actually repealed the stamp act. They considered it as a *Brutum fulmen* on the part of this country. They dutifully solicited the repeal of the Boston port bill, the Massachusetts's charter bill, that monster of despotism and popery, the Quebec act, but they passed over in silence the declaratory act. Yet, Sir, altho' no express mention was made of that act, they put in the strongest protest against the claim or exercise of any such powers in their very first resolution. It is of October 14, 1774. "The inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that they are intitled to life, liberty, and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent."

In the year following the second Congress, finding all their endeavours here for a redress of their grievances ineffectual, thought it necessary to hold out a kind of ultimatum to this country, and to speak the plain, full, manly language of injured freemen. In a "declaration by the representatives of the united colonies of North America, now met in Congress, at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms." July 6, 1775, it is said, "We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants ; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language ; Parliament have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, tho' we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property, &c. &c. &c. But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail ? By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power ? Not a single

gle man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burthens in proportion as they encrease ours." This one statute, the declaratory act, is the fountain, from whence not only waters of bitterness, but rivers of blood, have flowed.

I ought, Sir, in justice to the Congress, to take notice, that even after this they presented a most humble and dutiful petition to the King. From the ill-judged reply of the American secretary, that no answer would be given, I suppose every idea of obtaining a redress of their numerous grievances vanished. Yet in this very declaration they say, "We shall lay down our arms, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before." I will venture, Sir, to do this much-injured body of men justice on another subject against the false and malevolent assertions of the noble Lord [Lord George Germaine] at the head of the American department. His Lordship declared to us, in express terms, that the Congress had endeavoured to engage the Indian savages in their service, and would have employed them in the war. It is well known in what manner they must always be employed, not in the use of the sword and bayonet, of which they are ignorant, but the scalping knife and tomahawk, in which they are expert. In this manner they have been employed by General Burgoyne. The Congress, Sir, in the true heroic spirit of bravery, which mercy always accompanies, reprobated the idea of torture and cruelty. They determined on fair, honourable war, unstained by murder or massacre. I will convict his Lordship on the fullest evidence of the grossest imposition on this House, and of a violation of truth. The journal of the Congress, Sir, both that of 1774 and 1775, has been as regularly published to the world as the votes of the House of Commons are by you, Mr. Speaker. In that journal of June 30, 1775, I find the following words: "Resolved, That the committee for Indian affairs do prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians, for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and neutrality in our present unhappy dispute with Great Britain." This was, Sir, after the provocations of the repeated slaughter of their friends at Lexington, Concord,

cord, and Bunker's-Hill. But, Sir, although the Congress refused to ask the barbarous aid of the Savages, the King's General most readily and with eagerness employed them. He boasts of it in his proclamation of last June. No man, Sir, who has read that proclamation, and Major-General Gates's letter, will shed the tear of pity over the misfortunes of Mr. Burgoyne. Major-General Gates says, in his letter of August 28th, to Mr. President Hancock, "the horrid murders and scalplings, paid for and encouraged by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, previous to his defeat at Bennington, will for ever stain the honour of the British arms——In one house the parents with six children were most cruelly butchered." Is this, Sir, the mercy of the King, which General Burgoyne in his proclamation says, "his Majesty's numerous armies and fleets in every quarter of America were to display, as well as his power and justice?" He succeeded to irritate, not to intimidate, his enemies. But, Sir, although I do not feel the least spark of compassion for the fate of Mr. Burgoyne, I truly commiserate the situation of the troops with him. I regret the loss of the brave soldiers, who perished in the action, and I pity those who survive. I am sorry 800 valiant English and Germans were killed in a bad cause, in fighting against the best constitution on earth. Sir, it was inscribed on the tombs of the three hundred Spartans, who at Thermopylæ devoted themselves to a glorious death for the liberties of Greece, "Passenger, go tell at Sparta, that we died for having obeyed her holy laws." It ought to be engraven on the tombs of the eight hundred, who fell in the late action, "Passenger, go tell in England, that we died for having violated her holy constitution;" for such in my opinion is the case of every man, who has in this civil war drawn his sword against our brethren in America, and perished in the conflict. The situation, Sir, of those who survive, is to be commiserated, not so much for the calamities which they have suffered, brought on by themselves, as for the loss of honour, which, we are rightly informed, has accompanied the circumstances of their defeat and surrender. The terms of the capitulation for General Burgoyne, and the veteran troops under his command, are stated to be, delivering up their arms, being permitted without molestation, to embark for Europe, and not serving against the Americans during the war. They have then put themselves *hors de combat*. They have agreed no more to face these cowardly Americans. They consent not to measure swords with their conquerors during

during the war; not to make a single effort to recover their lost laurels. If they had surrendered prisoners of war, they might have been exchanged, and the fortune of war crowned them with future victories. That chance they have given up, as well as their arms. We have now scarcely a single company of foot in arms in all the Northern colonies, except Canada. The English at the battles of Preston Pans and Falkirk, suffered two most ignominious defeats. There was however no capitulation that the vanquished troops should not serve against the same enemies during the remainder of the war. At Culloden they washed away the foul stain of that national disgrace in the blood of those perjured Scotch rebels against a mild prince, and an equal system of laws. It is, Sir, very remarkable, that the same men, who stiled the Scottish rebels at that time insurgents, now call the American insurgents by the name of rebels. I will never, Sir, adopt the appellation. I think, Sir, the Americans are fighting in a good cause for the defence of their just privileges, and chartered, as well as innate, rights. I am sure the proudest and most despotic court in Europe, that of Vienna, would not have treated their subjects in the manner this court has treated the Americans, as rebels. When the present Empress Queen, then only Queen of Hungary, succeeded her father, the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, she secured the affections of her Hungarian subjects, by readily taking the old oath of the sovereigns of that country established in 1222. The greatest genius of Europe gives it at full length:† “If I, or any of my successors, at any time, should attempt to infringe your privileges, you, and your posterity, are permitted, by virtue of this promise, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels.” If her ancestors had been as wise, the House of Austria would never have lost Switzerland, which they did by oppression. The Americans, Sir, I think, are defending the privileges of every subject of the British

† Voltaire says, “Marie-Thérèse, épouse du grand Duc de Toscane François de Lorraine, gagna surtout l'esprit des Hongrois en se soumettant à prêter l'ancien serment du Roi André II. fait l'an 1222. “Si moi ou quelques uns de mes successeurs, en quelque tems que ce soit, veut enfreindre vos privilèges, qu'il vous soit, permis en vertu de cette promesse, à vous et à vos descendans, de vous défendre, sans pouvoir être traités de rebelles.” In the margin Voltaire says, “Serment singulier et qui ne devait pas l'être.”

Voltaire Siecle de Louis XIV. t. 3. p. 429.

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empire. If this country did justice to the same spirit of freedom in them, which we applaud in our ancestors, we should admire their heroism, and repeal all those acts, which are really odious badges of slavery, particularly the Declaratory Act, which is an invasion of the people's rights. Till we do that, we can have no rational hope of any reconciliation. The desperate situation of our affairs from the variety of circumstances, which have been stated, and the late surrender of a whole army, proves the absolute necessity of terminating this bloody civil war, this savage general Indian massacre.

The Declaratory Act, which we had no right to pass, will never be submitted to by the freemen on the other side the Atlantick. The spirit of it is hostile in the extreme to liberty. "To bind the subject in all cases whatsoever!" It is a charter of slavery. I deny the principle of this act as much at home as in America. We ridiculously bewilder ourselves with frantic, high-flown expressions of the omnipotence of Parliament. The gentlest natures are too fond of power, although they do not abuse it. There are many things which Parliament cannot do. We cannot vote ourselves perpetual. We cannot fill up our own vacancies, as the late House of Commons indeed did in the case of the Middlesex election, but all good men abhorred the usurpation. We are merely a delegated power from the people, and in that capacity only a third part of the legislature. We cannot then surrender their share of power, by whose favour alone we acquire the right of giving any vote in this House. It would be treachery and rebellion in the servant against the master. Can we, Sir, repeal Magna Charta? Has this House the power to establish the Mahometan religion? Government is only a trust from the people for their good, and in several instances, so far from possessing an absolute power, we must acknowledge we have no power at all. I will never admit arbitrary power to be lodged in any man, or body of men. Many things are so closely woven in with the constitution, like the trial by jury, they cannot be separated, unless the body of the people expressly declare otherwise, after free and full consideration. There are fundamental, unalienable rights, land-marks of the constitution, which cannot be removed. The omnipotence of Parliament therefore, which is contended for, seems to me a false and dangerous doctrine.

I have great reverence, Sir, for the memory of that Whig administration, which passed the Declaratory Act. I speak as a public man. I honour them for their spirited resolutions

against general warrants, and the seizure of papers, by which the personal liberty of the subject, and the most important secrets of life were rendered sacred and inviolable. I highly applaud the turning the exciseman out of private houses by the repeal of the cyder-tax. The negotiation for the Manilla ransom, which so deeply interested many of our bravest men in the army and navy, revived under their auspices, but alas! after many faint and feeble efforts, it languished and expired. Many excellent regulations of trade and commerce were made by them. But, Sir, I should have thought all their glories sullied by the passing of this Declaratory Act, which enacts a claim of unlimited authority over the colonies, if I did not believe it was a kind of force on that administration, a kind of compromise for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which had thrown the whole empire into convulsions. The Stamp Act ought to have been repealed on principles of justice, not expediency. I was abroad at the time, and may have been misinformed; but if I am not, it was absolutely necessary to lay the storm, which raged with the greatest fury, both here among the merchants, and in America. The repeal was warmly opposed by some of the royal family, and the favourite in the House of Lords, by his family and friends in both Houses, by the whole cabinet, the Lords of the bed-chamber, and almost all the King's and Queen's household. Perhaps the repeal had not been carried but by the compromise of this Declaratory Act. I am satisfied that it was not meant to be acted upon. The new ministry however in the succeeding year built on this solid foundation of a right to taxation, which they found established for them. They laid duties on tea, glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, and other things. The right had been determined, and the only objections which could be made, were the inexpediency and impolicy of its exercise in those instances, and at that period. If I had been in England, Sir, at that time, and in Parliament, I should strenuously have opposed the principle of the Declaratory Act; but I was forced into a cruel exile and outlawry by the wickedness and injustice of one administration, and kept abroad by the tameness and timidity of another. I was persecuted with extreme rage and violence by a set of men, who thought themselves injured, and abandoned by those I had essentially served, who before encouraged me, and approved my conduct. I was made their scape-goat, doomed to bear into the wilderness the sins and iniquities of a great political party, when in opposition. Surely, Sir, their sins and iniquities must have been of
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a deep dye, and remain still unexpiated, for *ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccet*. I would, Sir, in this great business of the repeal of the Declaratory Act, persuade myself that there is not an obstinacy of opinion, a tenaciousness of adhering to what we have once done, merely because we have done it. It seems apparent, that we can have no peace till the accursed thing is removed from our camp. From that happy moment I should hope the rude clamours of war would cease, and the gentle voice of peace be heard. I trust therefore, in this our day of distress and disgrace, in this time of consternation, there will be a perfect union of sentiment, an universal concurrence in this first preliminary of peace.

I have only mentioned, Sir, the repeal of the Declaratory Act, but I mean afterwards to submit to the House the repeal of the whole system of new statutes and regulations since the year 1763. I fix on that period, because the Congress complain of nothing prior to that æra. They have never hinted at a repeal of the Navigation Act, nor any other acts before that year. In the petition of the Congress to the King, in October 1774, they say, “from this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your Majesty’s dutiful colonies with affliction, and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned, &c. We present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the last war.” In the same year the Congress declared to the people of Great Britain, “Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.” Their language was exactly the same in the following year, in their last petition to the throne. They were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies.” Here then, Sir, Great Britain is at issue with the colonies. Repeal these injurious acts, and the former harmony is restored. We shall hear no more of the sword and bayonet on one side, nor the scalping-knife and tomahawk on the other. There will be no more effusion of human blood, no heart-piercing cries of whole families most cruelly butchered, or expiring under tortures.

I fear, Sir, that I have intruded too long on the patience of the House. I wish not to tire gentlemen. I am sure I had rather hear any voice than my own within these walls; but I must beg on this important business a little farther indulgence, to give, as briefly as I can, a general account of the other acts, which I hope will be repealed. I begin with the Fourth of the King. From that period of this inauspicious and inglorious reign, a regular and uniform system of attack on the rights and privileges both of America and Great Britain has been, except during a short interval, invariably pursued, under the direction, I believe, of the real minister. We shall now see how it has operated in a variety of acts against America. The fourth of the King, chap. 15. is "an act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c." Another act of the same year is chap. 34, "an act to prevent paper bills of credit, hereafter to be issued in any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, from being declared to be a legal tender in payments of money, &c." In the following year the "act to alter certain rates of postage, &c." In the sixth of the King, "an act for repealing certain duties in the British colonies and plantations, &c. and for granting other duties instead thereof, &c." The subsequent year teemed with two births fatal to American liberty. I mean the "act to enable his Majesty to put the customs and other duties in the British dominions in America, &c. under the management of commissioners, &c." I must, however, declare that I believe the idea of providing for numberless hungry dependants, who daily beseech and besiege the minister, gave rise to this statute. The other act of the same year, entitled, "an act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c," I shall move to be only in part repealed; for so much of it as relates to the duties upon glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, paste-boards, mill-boards, and scale-boards, is already repealed by the tenth of the King, chap. 17. Then, Sir, follows the act in the eighth of the King, entitled, "an act for the more easy and effectual recovery of the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by the acts of Parliament, relating to the trade or revenues of the British colonies and plantations in America." These acts are objected to, because duties are imposed by them for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, they take away the trial by jury, and extend the powers of the Admiralty-courts beyond their ancient and legal jurisdiction. The
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twelfth of his Majesty, chap. 24, I propose to repeal, because persons committing a variety of offences specified in the act out of this realm, may be tried in any county within the realm. This is directly contrary to the first principles of the constitution, which gives a right to a trial by a jury of the vicinage, who are supposed best to know the party. The same objection holds in full force against the act in 1774, entitled, "an act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." Another act, in the same year, chap. 45, takes away the charter granted the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, by the glorious William III. The Quebec act followed, which totally annihilated the mild and equal system of English laws, and established French tyranny and the Romish religion in their most abhorred extent. The Romish clergy, by the said act, may claim to hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights, and no person professing the Romish religion is obliged to take the oath required by the statute in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. The ministers of the established church of England were, as usual, totally neglected by the Scottish father of this bill, and even those of his own kirk in this instance. Then follows the sweeping act against the whole thirteen provinces, entitled, "an act to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, &c." which trade and intercourse brought into Great Britain, *communibus annis*, near two millions annually. The last act I shall mention is worthy of completing the black catalogue. It is the act of the last session, "to empower his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason, committed in any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy," which is now continued another year. It is sufficient to say of this act, that it suspends the Habeas Corpus act, which Judge Blackstone declares to be a second Magna Charta, and stable bulwark of our liberties; not very stable however, Sir, in this reign, no more than our liberties. There are besides those, which I have mentioned, three other acts complained of by our brethren in America. The first is the Boston port
act

act in 1774. It was repealed in 1776, but the substance of it re-enacted in the same general bill, the sixteenth of the King, chap. 5. The act likewise "to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, &c," is exactly in the same predicament. It was repealed and re-enacted in the same moment. The third act alluded to, is for providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America. It passed in 1774, and expired at Lady-Day, 1776. These three acts I therefore omit. Perhaps I may have passed over some other obnoxious statutes since 1763; but I mean, Sir, to propose the repeal of the whole system of the late American statutes and regulations, without which it is my fixed opinion you can have no permanent tranquility, nor peace in our time. I believe the repeal of these acts the necessary foundation for a negotiation, if we are really in earnest to regain our colonies, not to abandon them, or exterminate their inhabitants. I would treat America as the sister, not the subject of England. Bologna in Italy is stiled the sister, not the subject, of Rome. I remember that city has *libertas* in the first quarter of her arms. I wish it were in every quarter of Italy, of America, of the world.

I was not present, Sir, in the House last Friday evening, but I have heard of a curious political race here at that time between two distinguished parties in the opposition, as if the ministers were now fairly run down, and all that remained was to divide the spoil. I was told of very dextrous management, of much cutting and shuffling, of propositions hinted at, on one side of abandoning the colonies on certain terms of advantage, on the other giving up some rights and enforcing others with vigour. I have no connection with either party, nor with any part of the state. *Provoco ad populum* will ever continue my motto. But may I venture, Sir, to give both these parties a hint or two? I think that they need not quarrel yet, for hitherto I see no vacancy on the treasury-bench. Another thing I would just mention. Both of them should a little attend to the opinion of our common master. Lord Hillsborough's circular letter to all the governors on the continent and islands, has been brought into this House for various purposes. I shall now make use of it to convince both parties, all parties, every gentleman, of the necessity of a speedy reconciliation with our colonies, from the declared sentiments of our Sovereign. That letter concludes, "His Majesty relies upon your prudence and fidelity for such an explanation

explanation of his measures, as may tend to remove the prejudices which have been excited by the misrepresentations of those who are enemies to the peace and prosperity of Great Britain, and her colonies, and to re-establish that mutual confidence and affection, upon which the glory and safety of the British empire depend."

I believe, Sir, I have demonstrated to the House, that mutual confidence and affection can never return between Great Britain and her colonies, till this Declaratory Act, the root of the evil, the foundation of this contest, is done away. We are in a declining, and shall soon be in a desperate state, if this remedy is not immediately applied. I therefore think it my clear duty, not only for the glory, but the very safety of the British empire to move, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal an act, passed in the 6th year of his present Majesty, intituled, an act for the better securing the dependency of his Majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

Lord *Beauchamp* defended the acts, so strongly condemned, Lord *Beauchamp* in his opinion, upon little or no grounds, by the honourable gentleman.—He said, the declaratory law became necessary, when the stamp act was repealed. He would not, he said, pretend to decide, whether the repeal was a wise or prudent measure, or not; but certainly the sovereignty of this country would have been abandoned, if the Declaratory Act had not maintained it. It was the opinion which prevailed on every side of the House, a very few individuals excepted. The law was no new law; it was only a declaration of what the law had been, and was, previous to its being passed. The law was disputed; the true constitutional connection between both countries controverted or denied; Great Britain was therefore called upon to make a declarative assertion of its antient indubitable claim, which was the supremacy of its legislature, and the dependency and civil subordination of our colonies.---His Lordship adding, if any such proposition as that before the House should become necessary, now was not the proper time, the 2d of February being appointed a day of general enquiry, he should therefore put a negative upon the motion as premature, by moving the previous question.

Lord *North* said, he was for the previous question, for several reasons. His Lordship observed, that the motion now moved by the honourable gentleman went only to a repeal of all the laws passed respecting America, since 1763. Why confine it to so short a period? Why does not the honourable gentleman's

gentleman's motion go back to 1662? Why does it not go to the repeal of the Navigation Act, the Post-Office Act, the Slitting-mill and Hat-manufactory Acts, the Act for restraining the paper-currency of the colonies, and to some others of a like sort, which assert, as strongly and as roundly as any subsequent law, the supreme power of this country, "to bind America in all cases whatsoever," and our power to tax them, at least so far as may be necessary to the regulation of their commerce, and the securing to us the monopoly of their trade. I can assure the honourable gentleman, that he is mistaken, if he thinks a partial repeal will content America: the Navigation, and every other restrictive act, must first give way to their unreasonable demands; and, with them, the sovereignty of this country. He said, the motion was unreasonable, and ill-timed, nor would he ever consent to a similar one, if there were not strong reasons to believe, that a repeal of those laws were the only impediment which stood in the way of a return of our colonies to their antient state of constitutional obedience and dependency. His Lordship answered Mr. Wilkes, relative to his long distinctions on Whig and Tory principles. He denied, that James the Second's conduct was justified on Tory principles. The moderate Tories were lovers of law and legal liberty; they proved it; for when that infatuated monarch endeavoured to trample on the laws of the land, they deserted him.—That Prince, having broke the laws, justly forfeited his crown. He replied to some other parts of Mr. Wilkes's speech, and asked him if he had not one tear to shed for that ill-fated General, Mr. Burgoyne? His Lordship begged, however, before he sat down, not to be understood that no motion of concession, on similar ground to that now before the House, could be made with propriety, at any future period.---He meant no such thing; propositions for treaty and conciliation might become necessary. The moment for making of them would depend upon circumstances; those circumstances must arise out of the state of the war; from domestic situation; from the disposition of both countries.---That moment was not yet arrived; when it should, it would come accompanied by its own reasons; it would present itself in a different form from the present.---When it did arrive, he should most chearfully co-operate in the desirable work of peace.---On these grounds, he must however, for the present, vote for the negative proposed by his noble friend.

Mr.

Mr. *Wilkes* replied, with some warmth, upon the subject of Mr. *Wilkes*. toryism; said, he detested the memory of that weak tyrant, James the Second, and the whole Stuart race. He said, by agreeing with the present motion, we should lose nothing; for he was certain, from the beginning, that the conquest of America was totally impracticable; but in the present desperate situation of public affairs in that country, it was not weakness or absurdity, it was madness in the extreme, to entertain a single expectation of success.

Lord *North* replied, he did not yet despair of gaining A- Ld. *North*. merica; and hoped to be in force, or have such a force, in the course of the ensuing campaign, as would enable us both to offer terms with dignity, and enforce an acceptance, should America refuse to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation, with success. He again repeated, that the motion was unseasonable; and recommended to the House to suspend their judgment, till the whole of the present campaign was ended, and that we had proper and authentic information to proceed upon.

Honourable *Temple Luttrell*. After assigning his reasons Hon. T. for voting in favour of the motion made by Mr. Alderman Luttrell. *Wilkes*, immediately to abrogate the declaratory law, and all other oppressive acts against America since 1763, he took notice of the amity which has this session been exhibited in such lively colours, when either of the two noble Lords at the head of administration has stood up to explain the conduct of his colleague; he compared their cordial affection to that of Pylades and Orestes of old; or rather imagined it might, in the end, match the fable of the twin-brothers of antiquity, Castor and Pollux; one of whom was doomed to set in utter darkness before the other could rise to the ascendant, and shine forth with celestial majesty and splendour.

Much has been said upon the employing of savage Indians in the present unhappy contest; and very opposite ideas on that subject have arisen among gentlemen of exalted character in either House of Parliament. That every excess and violence is justifiable in carrying on a war, I can never admit; it is contrary to the maxims of the soundest writers on war and peace; contrary to the principles and practice of the most renowned and enterprising commanders throughout all ages of the world. What desperate extirpator of the human race since the days of Hercules and Theseus, has waged war with the dead? or flead the skin from the temples of

innocent women and children? or ripped open their bodies to banquet on their entrails? Such acts of brutal ferocity have been reserved for the allies of modern Englishmen and Christians, against their fellow-subjects on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. Recollect, Sir, one of the greatest generals that ever lived, nobly refused to avail himself of the treachery of the King of Epirus's physician, though he might thereby have taken off the most powerful enemy his country had ever contended with. And the following observation of that illustrious dictator, Camillus, is given us by a celebrated Greek historian, who with just and animated encomiums has re-recorded his splendid series of victories and public triumphs. "War, says Camillus, is at best of a savage nature, and wades through seas of violence and blood; yet, even war has its laws, from which men of honour and true martial gallantry will never depart; nor will they pursue the paths of conquest through deeds of horror or perfidiousness." I confess it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw a precise line how far certain instruments or modes of war are, in the general acceptation of the term, allowable. In every contest much must depend upon the nature, circumstances, and object of the quarrel. Sir, if a band of ruffians should break open your dwelling-house, with intent to steal your effects, perhaps deprive you of life, and you could arrest their purpose by tempting them with a deadly chalice in their way, would you even upon the strictest rules of christianity, scruple to avail yourself of such preventive artifice? But, were you called upon to stake your life against an adversary for mere matter of punctilio, do you not conceive, that the same spirit and principle of honour which urged you forth into the field of combat, would restrain you from the plots of a dark assassin, and cause the feelings of your soul to revolt against any vindictive barbarity? We, Sir, avowedly fight against equity and truth. We, Sir, avowedly fight for false dignity, and a mere feather. The colonists wage defensive war against the invaders of their country; against the violaters of their undoubted constitutional rights; they fight *pro aris & focis*. The Indian savage opposed to the German savage, the envenomed arrow or poisoned springs, might in them be deemed justifiable expedients for self-preservation, that paramount law of nature. But the honourable member who made the motion before you, has proved, that the Congress attempted only to negotiate a neutrality with the Indians. Sir, the Congress abhorred the thought of those savages being made parties

parties in our unhappy dispute. How then are these sanguinary proclamations issued in Canada, and the use of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, which indiscriminately butcher the innocent with the guilty, (sparing neither age nor sex) to be justified before God or man? These excruciating instruments vie with the wheel for such lingering tortures as the milder laws of tender-hearted Englishmen have hitherto always considered as too horrible for the guilt even of our most atrocious convicts—beyond the crimes of a Gardell, or John the Painter. What can be said, Sir, to extenuate the guilt of the ministers facing me; who, viewing the dreadful effects of their tyrannical and oppressive mandates through the perspective of their political systems, were determined nevertheless to plunge their country in all this misery, and still madly persevere; without deigning to hold forth to the much injured colonists, any explicit and rational conditions of peace.

With permission of the House, I will now say a few words as to the employing of Indian savages during the last war with France, and shall state positive facts only, leaving all moral comments thereupon to the reflections of those who hear me.

So long ago as 1725, the French instigated the Canada Indians, and those of the eastern provinces in general, to murder and scalp the British settlers in New-England. One Father Rallé, and other bigotted Popish missionaries, were found among the leaders of these inhuman tribes; and France constantly supplied them with arms and ammunition. In 1754, previously to the breaking out of the war, the Indians of the Delaware were instigated by the French to commit a variety of barbarities. They destroyed, at one time, a whole settlement of Moravians, who said, “they trusted to the Lamb of God;” and with the true patience and submission of lambs, were mercilessly butchered, after their women and infants had been scalped before their eyes. In consequence of the unfortunate catastrophe of General Braddock, in the summer of 1755, many of our people were slaughtered by the French Indians. The year following, on the taking of Oswego by the French, our sick and wounded soldiers, while they lay in the hospitals, were likewise slain or scalped. Some months after which, subsequently to the capitulation of Fort William-Henry, the troops of that garrison, who had laid down their arms, underwent a like unhappy fate. Sir, the inhabitants of British America, considering that nothing

was more just than that the *necis artifices* should perish by their own expedients, did, very shortly after Braddock's defeat, in the Massachusetts Bay and colony of Virginia, by authority of Provincial assemblies, enter into an alliance with many of the Indian chieftains, endeavouring to gain over, by treaties and presents, their old allies, the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson † was the principal manager and negotiator on those services. Before this step of retaliation was acceded to by the British provinces in general, several Indian Sachems had fairly represented that, unless the English colonies would employ them, and afford proper support, they must necessarily unite themselves with the enemy. The colony of Massachusetts Bay then offered a premium of 50*l.* currency for every male Indian above 12 years old, belonging to France, taken prisoner, and 40*l.* for every scalp. The Virginia colony gave similar rewards; so that all this work of blood was begun (though perhaps in such a case indispensably necessary on our part) before a noble Earl in the other House of Parliament came into office; for he was first appointed secretary of state in December 1756; and the continental war of America against France in its outset, whether right or wrong, with all the Indian massacres attending it, can no more be laid at his door than the continental war of Germany. He found both were too far advanced for him to have undertaken an entire alteration of their plans or operations.

But, Sir, that he was ever forward to correct, so far as in him lay, the brutal outrages of this cruel mode of war, many convincing proofs can be given. I shall now only instance a letter (inserted in the London Gazette) bearing date September 8th, 1760, and sent by Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Mr. Secretary Pitt, on the surrender of Montreal: it does honour to the humanity both of that great commander, and the minister to whom the letter was addressed. The General says, that “through Sir William Johnson's care to keep the Indians within humane bounds, he had the pleasure to inform

† He had resided for many years, previous to the war, on the banks of the Mohawk-river, and traded extensively with the Indians. He was much esteemed by them; spoke their various languages fluently, and was the only man on that continent, whether christian or savage, who could keep their cruelty within bounds. His amiable conduct at the reduction of Canada, under the auspices of the then minister, Lord Chatham, deserves the warmest commendation.

him,

him, that, since the British troops under his command had been in the enemy's country, not a peasant, woman, or child, had been hurt, nor a single habitation burnt."

Thus much I have judged it proper to say, in justice to the ablest statesman, and truest patriot, that this nation—perhaps any other on the face of the globe---was ever blessed with. The praise of so inconsiderable a person as myself, can add but little to his fame; yet I may congratulate Parliament, and the whole empire, that his mind, at an advanced age, still retains its superior spirit and vigour; and that, after many painful struggles with bodily infirmities, he seems to have been miraculously snatched out of the jaws of death by an all-merciful Providence, for a no less glorious purpose than to save his country a second time from foul disgrace and the brink of perdition. The superintending genius of this one man, and an immediate repeal of all your injurious American acts since 1763, may possibly yet restore to us the thirteen revolted provinces; and when we shall be again united in amity, I would recommend a votive column to be erected in each province, of similar import to that which the Roman senate, apprehensive for the liberties of the commonwealth from a standing army, caused to be placed on the boundaries of Italy, towards Cisalpine Gaul; and which remains to this our day in the road leading from Rimini to Cefina: It consigns to the infernal deities, as guilty of inexpressible sacrilege and parricide, whatsoever citizen of Rome should with a military force cross the Rubicon.

What security have we now in these islands, better than the kind assurances of the House of Bourbon? Nine-tenths of your army, and near half your fleet, are many thousand miles distant. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have repeatedly thought fit, both in this House, and in another House of Parliament, to state the royal navy for the protection of Great Britain and Ireland, to be actually manned with near 33,000 seamen and marines. A noble Earl who presides at the Admiralty-board, affirmed in public, that 35 ships of the line of battle, out of the 43 now in commission, are (without making over any fresh hands) as well equipped and manned for action as any 35 ships whatever sent out of your ports during the last war. On the other hand, I pledged myself to Parliament, that this was a daring and dangerous imposition; I defied the Commissioners of the Admiralty to give in the names of 20 sail of the line out of the whole number commissioned, that have in fact their proper war-complement

complement aboard. At length, I have been so fortunate as to obtain from government the only clear and fit vouchers for the real strength of your ships of war; and after accurately examining the several weekly accounts brought to your table (which I presume too are scarcely made out to disparage the service) I find that all the seamen now aboard your fleet within the home seas, which fleet consists of 105 sail (royal yachts, &c. included) would be little more than sufficient to complete the war-complements of the 43 capital ships of war fitting out. Where then would be your frigates for the protection of your trade? I have in my hand a correct list of the best manned ships among them, consisting of twelve men of war of 74 guns, six of 64 guns, and two of 90 guns; and these twenty select ships, of which some are upon cruizes in the Channel (if I allow for a trifling surplus aboard the *Asia* and *Bedford*) want about a thousand mariners to complete their war establishment. The rest of the line of battle ships employed, are infinitely more reduced in numbers. But, Sir, a thorough investigation of this important subject, and a strict enquiry into the expenditure of the many millions granted by Parliament for ordinary charges of the navy, extraordinary estimates, wages at 4l. per month each man, &c, &c. will, I trust, be thought to merit the serious attention of the independent country gentlemen in this House at some future day.

[Here Mr. Luttrell handed over to the Speaker's table the list of 20 ships of the line, which came (according to the official papers from the Admiralty) the nearest to a war-complement of seamen,]

Sir, as I would wish on all occasions, in my public capacity, to render a just tribute to public desert, I must once again touch upon the article of Scotch cannon. I have, within these few days, made a particular enquiry into the state and management of the Carron foundary; and I find, that the very industrious and respectable gentlemen who preside over it, have derived, from the accidents and losses I formerly mentioned in the House, the great advantage of being led into a thorough investigation of the nature of the metal of which these guns are composed; so that their cast iron is now rendered of a very superior temper and quality; and their improved process has, by recent experiments at Woolwich, and elsewhere, so far answered their most sanguine hopes, that they come up (I am told) to the Spanish proof, which is the highest proof we know of in the universe for iron ordnance.

Sir,

Sir, whenever the first Lord of the Admiralty shall, in his public character, become (like the Scotch cannon) diametrically the reverse of what he has hitherto been, no man here will, with more sincere pleasure, rise up as a member of Parliament to give him ample commendation, than I shall do. I observe, it is already settled by the ministers, and, of course, by a large majority of this House, to adjourn till after the Christmas holidays, so late as to the 20th of January. We have, I find, no hopes whatever of effecting any good purpose by continuing to sit, and this adjournment may therefore be highly proper, as it will at least hinder Parliament from doing any more mischief for these six weeks. Let me remark to the gentlemen on the other side of the floor, that it will become them not to spend the approaching season in gambols or carousing, but rather to reflect upon the direful consequences of their unconstitutional, oppressive, and sanguinary councils; and, reviewing their own gazettes, to weep over those gallant spirits, who, under General Howe and General Burgoyne, have been sacrificed to unparalleled folly and thirst of power. I can tell those obstinate ministers, that a whole Atlantic of tears, would scarce suffice to expunge the stain of their crimes from the annals of the English history.

Mr. Fox. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon has discovered the prettiest method imaginable to recover America. It is, I must confess, a new way; but what of that? it is a forcible, and for that reason a successful way? How does his Lordship mean to treat? Why we have been beaten pretty tolerably. One general and his army are lost, the other is surrounded and in danger; when the other shall be lost, then will be the time to treat. We have been unsuccessful almost in every thing; but it seems, by the noble Lord's new logic, we have not yet been unsuccessful enough. He was very severe on his Lordship's want of candour, and his eternally shifting his ground, so as never to permit himself to be tied down to any engagement. If treaty is spoken of, his Lordship wishes for it, and the end proposed by it; if war is spoken of, his Lordship promises success; in short, whether it be conquest, unconditional submission, treaty, conciliation, taxation, sovereignty, or treating with rebels with arms in their hands, he is for every one of them, and for none of them; but that which immediately answers the temporary purposes of debate; that of voting in a majority; of keeping his place by keeping his friends together; of urging the violent,

lent, softening his antagonists, and meeting exactly the ideas of the moderate.

He differed, he said, from the honourable gentleman who made the motion, in his censure of the declaratory act. It was most certainly a wise and necessary measure, at the time. It would still have continued so, if it had not been followed by an act for levying certain duties in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, contrary to the good faith of this country, and the professed understanding of both countries. An opportunity however presented itself, within a few years after, for rectifying that blunder; but the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, that being the first year of his administration, strongly resisted the proposition of a total repeal; and was, in a great measure, responsible for all the consequences which have since happened. He was ready to acknowledge, that the situation of both countries had undergone a very great alteration, since the passing of the declaratory law; and that probably, in case of a future treaty, it must be abandoned; but he could never agree with the honourable gentleman, that the law was tyrannous and unjust; that it was the grand source of our present troubles; or, that in the present state of things it would be prudent to begin with a repeal of it. It might be necessary to repeal it; but the whole subject ought to be considered in one view; and a proper attention paid to what we were likely to gain, as well as what might be proper to relinquish.

Mr. Cruger. Mr. *Cruger.* I am glad to find, from the arguments which have fallen from gentlemen on both sides of the House this day, that the expectation and confidence of repressing the resistance of North America by force of arms, are gradually decreasing; and, from the language of the minister himself, we may discover a disposition for peace. Adversity may have taught administration wisdom. It is unfortunate for the nation, however, that their knowledge has been purchased at so dear a rate. Had the same temper and spirit which now prevail, directed their counsels in an earlier stage of the controversy, it might have been long ago amicably settled: but the voice of peace was lost in the delusive projects of instantly reducing the colonists to "unconditional submission." Their supplications were fruitless; an attention to their complaints was deemed derogatory to your dignity.

When I had the satisfaction of presenting a petition from the assembly of New-York (a mode of application pointed out

out and encouraged by ministry) unfortunately for this nation, though it contained the most explicit acknowledgment of the supremacy, the favourable moment for treaty was neglected: for by using with contempt the only legislative body who had ventured to address this House for relief in a "constitutional manner," you drove your friends to despair, and exposed them to the derision of the neighbouring colonies. But your armies were then entire, and deemed irresistible. The predictions of gentlemen on this side the House were despised, and the pride of conquest preferred to the humanity of reconciliation. The event, however, has given you melancholy proofs of your error. You have had the Americans united against you as one determined body, convinced that their liberties were not to be obtained by petition, but by the sword. Your military operations against them have had no other effect than to weaken yourselves, to teach them how to war, and to render their union more perfect.

I am sorry that we have this day an opportunity of deriving arguments against coercive measures from the dishonour lately incurred by the British arms, and the ineffectual sufferings and waste of the blood and lives of men, whose courage and capacity merited a better cause. Would it not have been wiser to have recovered their former affection, by removing their apprehensions of danger to their dearest rights? A repeal of the act against which they complain, would have tended to this purpose; but, alas! A different path has been pursued, every step of which has been marked with blood and disgrace, and carried us further from every hope of success. What greater folly could there be than to expect to force a people into a friendly union with you, to entrust their rights once more into your hands, and submit their property and lives to your government, by desolating their country, and spreading famine and death over their land!---And, Sir, what are the laurels which you have acquired in this destructive warfare? You have subdued---not their armies, but the small remains of their affection to this country, their reverence for its laws, and confidence in its generosity.

But admitting, Sir, that your arms had been attended with all the success which the most sanguine advocates for war have flattered us with; had the Americans been disposed, from their defeats and sufferings, to sue for peace; what door of refuge has been opened to them? What explicit terms have been proposed to them? What security that they should not be treated (innocent and guilty) as a conquered people,

and subject to whatever yoke their haughty victors might have been pleased to impose on them?

Sir, it was madness to expect that men who had taken up arms in defence of their liberty, should easily be induced to throw them down, and submit to their conquerors, especially when they had so little to hope, and so much to fear.

Was the treatment of those who did put themselves under your protection, any encouragement to others to imitate their example? I cannot find that the citizens of New-York, for their singular loyalty, have yet been rewarded with the advantages of civil government, or a restoration of their commerce. No: nothing less than implicit obedience has been expected! They have had no favour held out to them, but the oath of allegiance; no provision for the security of their rights; no solid basis for a settlement of the dispute.

From such conduct, Sir, what evidence could the other colonies deduce of your lenity, or disposition favourable to their liberties? By embracing your cause, they expose themselves to the vengeance of the Congress, to have their properties sequestered, and their persons imprisoned. And, in return for their allegiance, what have they obtained? They may indeed have the great happiness to rely on the generosity of their conquerors, and be content with such a constitution, and such portions of liberty as you may hereafter be pleased to deal unto them.

Good God! Sir, can it be expected that men with arms in their hands, irritated by repeated provocations, and flushed with success, will surrender to you on such conditions? It is the grossest folly to imagine it. Change then your system: reverse those absurd and pernicious measures; for, if the confidence and affection which we have lost are yet to be regained, it can only be by giving them the most undeniable proofs that you wish not to oppress them; that you are willing to remove every ground of complaint, and to afford them the amplest security for their privileges in future.

Sir, I can perceive no method so conducive to this end, as that proposed by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, and has supported it with such force and correctness of reasoning, and good humour and Attic wit: the arguments which he has just advanced must convince every candid mind of the inexpediency and oppressive nature of the laws in dispute.

I wave all questions of your authority and right. Peace ought now to be our object, and it is a sufficient reason for an
immediate

immediate repeal, that those obnoxious acts are an insurmountable bar to reconciliation, and have lost you the hearts of three millions of subjects. While they continue in force, you have to combat all America in union against you.

Sir, from my connections in America, I have had an opportunity of collecting the sentiments of men of all orders and parties, and have reason to believe, that independency is not yet the great object of the majority of the people; but a rooted and unconquerable aversion to those impolitic acts prevail in every mind. Can there then remain a doubt which to prefer? To carry on a war, which has hitherto promised you no success, with the principles and spirit of the people invincibly opposed to you; or to appease their jealousies, and cultivate a return of their friendship?

I earnestly wish to impose this important distinction on the minds of all who hear me. If your arms are unsuccessful, disgrace and ruin are inevitable; but a generous, though ineffectual attention to the complaints of an injured people, is ever honourable. You have made a full trial of the one, and fatally experienced its futility. Make then an experiment of the other, while it yet remains in your power. Sacrifice to peace! not the blood and treasure of this kingdom; not the lives and happiness of our fellow subjects in America; but a train of acts and measures, which have been barren and inefficacious, or productive only of misery and disgrace.

The *Attorney-General* [Mr. Thurlow] threw the whole blame of the war upon those ministers who repealed the stamp act; and if the great minister had continued at the helm, who planned that act, his firmness and wisdom would have insured obedience without bloodshed; but as the Americans had denied the supremacy of this legislature, and had recourse to arms, arms could alone decide it now; and the most vigorous exertions were necessary.

Mr. Thurlow.

Sir *William Meredith* replied, that whatever exertions were necessary, this day could not be a fit time to determine upon the force that was necessary to carry on the war. When we found by experience that fifty-five thousand men and one hundred ships of war were inadequate, were we now to affect an impotent parade, of carrying on this war with a diminution of ten thousand of the bravest and best disciplined of our troops, commanded by a general, as accomplished in his own profession, as admired in the senate, beloved and revered in private life, and who had done all that courage, abilities, and diligence could do, to have brought his campaign to a better

Sir William Meredith.

better issue. No part of our distresses could be imputed to General Burgoyne.

As to the effects of the stamp act, he himself (in conjunction with Sir George Savile) had conducted the enquiry that led to the repeal. He appealed to that honourable gentleman and others, whether, if that measure had been persisted in, America would then have resisted? She certainly would; she was prepared, armed, and determined. The repeal procured the blessed effect of peace, and in that happy state we might have continued long, if the government of this country would have refrained from their idle speculations and definitions of supremacy, which have brought on this fatal war; supreme power can neither be defined, nor limited, nor extended by argument and by assertions; it consists not in speculation, but in action; events alone require the exercise of it. No man can deny in theory the supreme, unlimited power of the British legislature; but the execution of that power is a trust delegated by the people and to be guided by principles of liberty and justice, not only for the people at large, but to have respect to the rights of every individual intrusted to our care.

Mr. Adam. *Mr. Adam* made some severe restrictions on Sir William Meredith, for deserting his principles, and his friends the ministers, in the hour of their dismay.

Sir William Meredith. *Sir William Meredith* replied, that instead of deserting his principles, he adhered to them. That he had opposed the declaratory act, though brought in by the minister under whom he held an honourable and agreeable employment.

That he had never voted for any one measure that tended to create or to support this war.

That at the beginning of this unhappy business, he desired to resign.

That he did not quit the ministers in their hour of dismay, but in their moment of triumph, for he resigned on the notification of the last successful accounts from America.

The previous question was put, and carried by a great majority.

Lord Beauchamp. *Lord Beauchamp* then made a motion, that the House should adjourn till the 20th of January. His reasons for the adjournment, he said, were principally these—the supplies were voted, the usual business before the Christmas recess gone through, and however some people might expatiate or enhance the misfortune of the Canada expedition, he

he saw no business of moment that called the attention of Parliament; and his great reason for wishing to have it adjourned was this, that as a general enquiry was appointed, time ought to be given for the men in administration to prepare.

His Lordship was seconded by Earl *Nugent*, who supported the propriety of the motion, and emphatically asked what should we do here, when probably it would not be one day in ten, that members sufficient to constitute a House, would attend; and it would not be insisted he presumed, that matters of the most singular importance, matters he was free to say, on which the dearest interests, nay the very existence of the nation depended, were proper to be discussed in a thin House: nay the fact was, that Parliament had nothing to deliberate upon, till accounts of importance should be first received from America. Earl Nugent.

Mr. *T. Townshend* objected very strongly to the motion; Mr. *T. Townshend* said an adjournment of six weeks, in so critical a situation of affairs, would, in his opinion, be a very improper and hazardous measure, and which ministers ought to venture on with caution. He thought the adjournment ought to be as short as possible, even from day to day. It was indeed matter of astonishment, that any one who had the honour of His Majesty's confidence, dared advise such a measure. He was very strong against administration, and hoped, he said, that the necessity of keeping the members in town would appear so urgent at the present crisis, that even the minister's most steady and approved friends, would desert him on the present occasion: he owned, that this motion daring and absurd as it appeared, in such a season of national calamity, was nevertheless not unaccompanied with a circumstance which ought to give pleasure to every real friend of his country; it portends, the falling of the curtain, the exit of those weak, obstinate, and improvident ministers, who have driven this country into its present distressful situation. Ministers are not able longer to face their adversaries in Parliament. They fly from public observation, and enquiry, and brood over their approaching disgrace in a kind of political despair: they tremble for consequences, they have neither the ability to provide against, nor the fortitude to meet.

Sir *George Savile* said, that for his part, he should be ashamed to face his constituents, if he had given a vote for neglecting his and their interests at so momentous a pe- Sir George Savile.
when

when the very existence perhaps of the empire was at stake.

Lord Beau-
champ

Lord *Beauchamp* replied shortly; said, that all the necessary business of the House was finished; that nothing could possibly happen during the recess, of such a temporary and emergent nature as could call for the instant advice of Parliament. The worst or best that could happen was provided against; and no new measure of importance, it was well known, could be adopted without the concurrence of Parliament.

Mr. Coven-
try.

Mr. *Coventry* opposed the motion warmly. He contended there was no instance of such a proceeding, taking in all the circumstances, in the records of Parliament. In a time of war, of the most lamentable species of war, a civil war; a threatened rupture with our powerful and united enemies, every branch of the house of Bourbon, to meet on the 20th of November, and adjourn the 10th of December for six weeks. He did not wish to embarrass administration at this time; he wished rather to smooth the rugged paths government were obliged to pass over; but most certainly, if some very cogent reason was not advanced in support of the motion of adjournment, or precedent quoted to justify it, he should give it his hearty negative; if there should, he was ready to give it his hearty assent.

Lord Advo-
cate of Scot-
land.

Lord *Advocate of Scotland*, supported the motion on the following ground, that it would be highly improper, to enter at this particular time, into any enquiry relative to the conduct of the King's servants; because, such an enquiry would involve in it, that of our officers and commanders abroad, in their absence, and while their duty required their attendance in another place; while in fact, they were engaged in the very service for which they were to be censured. If such an enquiry should at any future time appear necessary, it should be a previous condition, that the officers whose conduct was involved in that of ministers, should be present, not only to inform Parliament, but, if circumstances called for it, to answer for, and justify themselves. Nothing like this could take place, within the short period assigned to the recess. He should therefore, give his vote for the motion of adjournment.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* moved, that the motion be amended by leaving out the 20th of January, and inserting instead thereof the words "this day se'nnight." He spoke strongly against the language held this day by the minister, His Lordship was determined

derermined, he perceived, to keep his place at all events ; whether treaty or war should be the determination of that House, the noble Lord was prepared. But let the noble Lord be ever so pliant, how was he sure that America would treat with him, or any of his colleagues in office ? He suspected, though America were ever so willing to treat, and the noble Lord and his friends ever so willing to sacrifice and give up what they called the right and supreme power of this country, no negotiation could possibly succeed in their hands. The colonies were so often deceived, abused, and trifled with, he was certain they would never listen to any proposals of peace, conveyed through such a channel. He insisted, now was the proper time for enquiring, when one army was annihilated, another besieged, and our natural and avowed enemy [France] negotiating a treaty with our colonies, perhaps not negotiating but even perfecting a treaty by which America will be irrecoverably lost to this country. If this was a true state of our critical situation, which he verily believed it was ; surely it was a proper time for enquiry, not for adjournment of six-weeks. He was remarkably severe upon Lord North, and after repeating his former assertion, dwelt upon his Lordship's expression, that he meant to make propositions of peace, and appealed to the good sense, experience and observation of the House, whether it was within the most distant views of probability to expect that he whose impotence, incapacity, obstinacy, or inattention, had been the cause of every measure, no matter whether it was accommodation or coercion, was the the proper person to propose any future measure leading either way. The plea he contended was monstrous, the expectation in the highest degree improbable and absurd !

Lord North replied, that he never meant by what he said Lord North to negotiate away the right of this country. He appealed to the House if his words were not, that he thought we might have such a force in America as would be sufficient to enable us to offer terms to our rebellious subjects, consistently with our dignity, and with the sovereign and controlling rights of this country. He said, that every argument offered against the motion, went to prove nothing. The campaign was already terminated. France did not molest us ; nor did he believe either France or Spain had the least intention to molest us ; but whether they had or had not, we were prepared ; and would during the recess as much as if Parliament were actually sitting. All the public business

business was done; he meant all that was usually done in the early part of the session. For his part, therefore, he could not perceive the most distant motive for objecting to the motion, nor did he hear a single ground for the amendment. If upon a full enquiry after the recess, measures of a consequential and important nature should become necessary, the committee for an enquiry into the state of the nation, fixed for the 2d of February next, would be the proper, and only proper place and time, to discuss and deliberate on them. His Lordship gave a particular explanation, to what had fallen from Mr. Burke, relative to a supposed intention in him, of negotiating away the rights of this country, in order to keep his place. What he meant was, that he hoped the campaign had produced events, which would enable us to prepare and enforce a conciliation with the colonies, on true constitutional grounds. That he never thought of making any propositions, till the fate of the present campaign were known, nor then neither, if it should happen during the recess; but after the holidays, when the whole of the past military operations, and the intended measures, could come together properly before the House, he would then move the House to consider of what concessions might be proper to be made the basis of a treaty, and he trusted yet, their endeavours would prove effectual, in bringing about a permanent peace, and union between both countries.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox controverted almost every thing offered by the noble Lord. He insisted that the House of Bourbon were hostile; that they only waited for a favourable opportunity to break with us; and that favourable opportunity would present itself the very instant the first bad news arrived from America. He entered into several explanations, and seemed, from motives of generous pity, to have directed his galling attacks against the great financier, sooner than press too closely on the American minister. He reprobated the plea of the noble Lord's offering himself to be a negotiator; being he said well convinced, that the Americans would never listen to any treaty coming from his Lordship. He was obnoxious to them, and if he persisted to retain his present station, as minister; it would most certainly prevent every accommodation, which came recommended to them, by a man whom they suspected, detested, and despised.

The question being put a few minutes before ten o'clock upon Lord Beauchamp's motion of adjournment, the House divided; Ayes 155, Noes 68.

Adjourned to January 20, 1778.

January 20, 1778.

The following Papers were laid before the House.

Account of Men lost and disabled in his Majesty's Land Service, including two Battalions of Marines and Foreign Troops in British Pay, by Death, Captivity, Desertion, Wounds, or Sickness, in North America, since November 1, 1774, distinguishing each Year, Corps and Service.

Years.	Service.	Corps.	Dead.	Prisoners.	Deserted.	Discharged by wounds, or length of service.
From Nov. 1, 1774,	Under General Gage	British	31		47	16
1775,	Under Gens. Gage and Howe	Ditto	781		115	249
	Under Sir William Howe	{ British	869	967	192	619
		{ German	65	981	No return	No return
1776,	Under Sir Guy Carleton	{ British	200	48	68	36
		{ German	176		15	
	Under Sir William Howe	{ British	1202	357	282	490
		{ German	No return	89	No return	No return
1777,	Under Sir Guy Carleton	{ British	81	5	20	29
		{ German	58		2	
	Under General Burgoyne	{ British	385	59		
		{ German	18			
	N.B. By convention, British and German			3500		

*Most Noble General Return of the Army in Canada, serving under his Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton ;
Head Quarters St. John's, 1st October, 1777.*

	Officers present.										Effective Rank and File.										Wanting to complete to the Return.		Alteration since last Return.																			
	Commission.					Staff.					Effective Rank and File.										Wanting to complete to the Return.																					
	Number of Companies	General	Brigadier General.	Lieutenant Colonels	Majors.	Captains.	First Lieutenants.	Second Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Quarter-master General	Deputy Quarter-master Gen.	Assistant Quarter-mast. Gen.	Adjutant General	Majors of Brigade	Aid de Camps	Chaplains	Adjutants	Quarter-masters	Surgeons Mates	Sergeants present	Drummers and Fifer's present	Present fit for Duty	Sick in Quarters	Sick in Hospitals	On Command	Recruiting	Recruits not joined	On Furlough	Total in Canada	Detached upon the Expedition under Lt. Gen. Burgoyne.	Detached upon the Expedition under Lt. Col. St. Leger	Sergeants	Drummers and Fifers	Rank and File	Injured	Dead	Discharged	Deserted				
Staff	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
29th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
31st	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
34th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Royal Highland Emigrants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Detachments from British	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. from Germans	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	66	1	1	4	4	39	47	2	39	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	4	1	6	4	9	195	110	2689	121	74	284	6	29	38	3241	332	116	1	2	170	20	2	11	3		

N. B. The additional Company of the 8th Regiment is on their way to join, and not included in the above Return.

GUY CARLETON.

Return of the Additional Companies of the 8th, 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 29th, 31st, 34th, to 7th, 53d, and 62d Regiments, Quebec, July 1, 1774.

Companies.	Officers present.					Effective rank and File.										Wanting to complete to the allowance.	Alteration since last Return.					Absent and not yet arrived.				
	Captains.	First Lieutenants.	Second Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants present.	Drummers and Fifers present.	Present fit for Duty.	Sick in Quarters.	Sick in Hospitals.	On command.	Total.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Enlisted.	Dead.	Discharged and recommended.	Deserted.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.			
8th,	0	1	0	0	1	1	23	0	1	0	24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	34		
9th,	0	0	0	1	2	2	44	0	1	3	48	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
20th,	1	1	1	1	3	2	50	0	3	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
21st,	1	1	0	0	3	2	48	6	2	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
24th,	1	1	0	1	2	2	34	6	2	0	42	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
29th,	1	1	0	1	3	2	50	4	2	0	56	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0		
31st,	1	1	0	1	3	2	56	0	0	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		
34th,	0	0	0	1	2	1	36	4	0	15	55	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	15	0		
47th,	0	1	0	0	2	1	21	1	5	0	27	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
53d,	1	1	0	0	3	2	50	3	0	0	53	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		
62d.	1	0	0	1	2	2	55	1	0	0	56	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		
	7	8	1	7	26	19	467	28	16	18	529	3	35	2	1	1	6	1	2	2	4	2	2	49		

Regiments.

GUY CARLETON.

General Monthly Return of the German Troops serving under His Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton; Headquarters at Quebec, May 1st, 1777.

[illegible]

GUY CARLETON.

1777.

Since last
Return.



Received.
Dead.
Discharged.
Deserted.

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0 1 0 0

6 6 1 2

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7 6 1 3

ain, December 1, 1777.

n Com.	Effective Rank and File.										Wanting to complete.	Since last Return.									
	Men.					Horses.						Men.	Horses.								
Kettle Drummers, Trumpeters and Hautboys.	Fit for Duty.	Sick present.	Sick in Hospitals.	On Command.	Recruiting.	On Furlough.	Total.	Fit for Duty.	Lame or Sick.	At Grass, and on command.	Total.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Inlisted.	Dead.	Discharged.	Deserted.	Recruited.	Dead.	Cast.
5	124	10	0	1	0	11	146	123	1	16	140	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	5	0	1
5	131	5	0	1	0	9	146	125	2	12	139	0	0	12	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
4	103	1	0	5	0	7	116	95	0	20	115	0	6	12	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
3	99	0	0	13	0	4	116	116	0	6	122	0	6	10	7	0	6	0	0	0	0
10	112	7	0	8	4	3	234	251	5	0	256	0	0	6	4	0	1	0	20	0	0
27	669	23	0	28	4	34	758	710	8	54	772	0	12	50	15	2	7	0	25	1	1
6	24	0	1	135	0	6	166	29	2	143	174	0	2	12	0	0	0	0	9	1	0
6	41	5	0	122	0	0	168	55	1	130	186	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	1
6	163	1	0	0	2	1	167	168	0	0	168	0	1	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	118	6	0	32	6	1	155	150	2	30	182	0	13	4	1	0	0	1	13	0	0
3	146	7	0	1	8	1	163	164	2	0	166	0	5	20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	146	4	1	0	10	1	162	166	3	0	169	0	6	17	4	0	0	0	8	1	3
4	44	3	0	112	3	2	164	65	0	101	166	1	4	20	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
5	141	6	1	10	4	1	163	175	3	6	184	0	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	134	3	1	12	6	0	156	150	4	25	179	0	12	7	1	0	0	0	4	0	0
5	197	13	5	34	0	3	252	230	10	36	276	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	18	2	0
10	1146	48	9	458	39	16	1716	1352	27	471	1850	1	48	100	11	0	2	1	58	5	4
7	1815	71	9	486	43	50	2474	2062	35	525	2622	1	60	150	26	2	9	1	83	6	5
6	185	4	0	40	7	8	244	239	0	35	274	0	8	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
6	75	2	4	69	5	2	157	104	0	64	168	0	11	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	260	6	4	109	12	10	401	343	0	90	442	0	19	23	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
9	2075	77	13	595	55	60	2875	2405	35	624	3064	1	79	173	27	3	9	1	83	6	3

Effective Rank and File.

Wanting to
complete.

Since last
Return.

	<i>Sick present.</i>	<i>Sick in Hospital.</i>	<i>On Command.</i>	<i>Recruiting.</i>	<i>Prisoners.</i>	<i>On Furlough.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Drummers and Fifers.</i>	<i>Rank and File.</i>	<i>Inlisted.</i>	<i>Dead.</i>	<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Deserted.</i>
1 Regiment of 187	3	12	19	0	20	1299	1	101	33	1	10	13	
2 Coldstream dit	54	0	10	7	0	20	839	0	61	9	0	10	5
3 Regiment ditt	49	0	0	2	0	25	867	1	33	11	0	4	12
	90	3	22	28	0	65	3005	2	195	53	1	24	30
1 Regiment (or	64	0	86	11	0	10	500	0	60	2	0	1	4
2 Ditto, (or Que	18	0	6	32	0	30	469	0	91	6	0	0	3
6 Regiment	4	21	4	52	0	11	272	0	400	12	0	4	1
13 Ditto,	44	2	24	13	0	15	522	0	38	7	0	6	0
14 Ditto,	14	0	29	35	0	7	123	0	549	13	0	3	0
18 Ditto, (or Ro	26	1	37	29	0	14	426	0	134	4	1	0	1
25 Ditto,	18	0	0	12	0	19	531	0	29	5	0	6	3
50 Ditto,	22	0	0	20	4	5	315	0	245	4	0	3	1
59 Ditto,	39	0	0	23	2	26	468	0	92	23	0	2	2
65 Ditto,	26	0	0	29	8	16	288	0	272	18	0	1	0
69 Ditto,	50	1	0	12	2	36	521	0	39	1	2	3	1
	25	25	186	268	16	189	4435	0	1949	95	3	29	16
	15	28	208	296	16	254	7440	2	2144	148	4	53	46
1 Regiment, (or	37	4	47	13	0	26	529	0	31	8	0	1	1
20 Ditto,	20	17	24	8	0	27	524	0	36	7	0	4	1
	57	21	71	21	0	53	1053	0	67	15	0	5	2
	72	49	271	317	16	307	8493	2	2211	163	4	58	48

by General Sir Guy Carleton; Head-Quarters at 777.

Vacant.		Effective Rank and File.										Wanting to complete	Alterations since last return			
Lieutenants	Ensigns	Serjeants present	Drummers and Fifers present	Present fit for Duty	Sick in Quarters	Sick in Hospitals	On command	Recruiting	Recruits not joined	Prisoners with Rebels	Total	Drummers and Fifers	Rank and File	Inlisted	Dead	Discharged
0	1	30	22	531	17	1	0	0	0	0	549	0	11	0	2	0
1	1	30	20	487	20	20	0	0	0	0	527	0	33	0	1	0
2	0	30	20	478	47	6	0	1	0	0	532	0	28	0	3	0
0	0	30	22	470	54	6	0	0	0	0	530	0	30	0	0	0
0	0	22	15	346	1	43	12	1	0	0	511	2	49	0	1	1
0	0	29	22	493	14	15	18	0	0	0	540	0	20	0	1	0
0	0	24	18	381	30	4	12	0	1	0	536	0	24	0	0	0
0	0	29	20	377	19	14	9	0	1	2	503	0	57	0	2	1
0	0	28	20	483	28	5	15	0	0	0	531	0	29	0	5	0
0	1	30	22	379	15	18	13	6	0	0	548	0	12	2	0	1
0	0	12	12	236	3	11	0	0	0	0	294	0	24	0	0	0
0	0	30	16	304	3	0	45	0	0	46	398	4	162	1	0	0
0	0	15	5	140	6	3	0	0	0	0	157	0	0	7	0	3
3	3	339	234	5113	257	146	545	2	1	48	6156	6	479	10	15	6

GUY CARLETON.

udenel,

Abstract of the last General Monthly Returns of his Majesty's Forces in the West-Indies.

Corps.	Companies.	Officers present.										Effective Rank and File.					Alterations since last Return.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
		Commission.					Staff.					Present and fit for Duty.	Sick in Quarters.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.	Recruiting.	On Furlough.	Total.	Rank and File.	Inlisted.	Dead.	Deserted.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Quarter-Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants present.	Drum. & Fifers present.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						

Account of the Savings out of the Grants made by Parliament for the Pay of his Majesty's national Troops, from the 29th of September, 1775, to the 29th of September, 1777.

Respits made in the subsistence of the augmentations to the following corps, for the year 1775, pursuant to his Majesty's warrant, dated the 29th of January, 1777.

	£.	s.	d.
1st, Duke of Argyll's first battalion royals	388	17	6
Duke of Argyll's second battalion royals	388	17	6
2d, Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Montague's foot	388	17	6
4th, Lieutenant-general Hodgson's foot	631	7	0
5th, Lieutenant-general Earl Percy's foot	631	7	0
6th, Lieutenant-general Sir William Boothby's foot	631	7	0
7th, Colonel Richard Prescott's foot	631	7	0
8th, Lieutenant-general Armstrong's foot	631	7	0
10th, Lieutenant-general Sandford's foot	631	7	0
13th, Honourable lieutenant-general Murray's foot	381	17	6
14th, Lieutenant-general Cunningham's foot	631	7	0
15th, Lieutenant-general Earl of Cavan's foot	631	7	0
16th, Lieutenant-general Gisborne's foot	631	7	0
17th, Lieutenant-general Monckton's foot	631	7	0
21st, Honourable lieutenant-general Mackay's foot	325	6	8
22d, Honourable lieutenant-general Gage's foot	631	7	0
23d, Honourable lieutenant-general Sir William Howe's foot	631	7	0
25th, Lieutenant-general Lord George Lenox's foot	388	17	6
26th, Lieutenant-general Lord Adam Gordon's foot	631	7	0
27th, Major-general Massey's foot	631	7	0
28th, Major-general Erle's foot	631	7	0
29th, Lieutenant-general Evelyn's foot	325	6	8
31st, Lieutenant-general Sir James Adolphus Ough- ton's foot	325	6	8
32d, Major-general William Amherst's foot	325	6	8
33d, Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis's foot	155	5	0
35th, Lieutenant-general Campbell's foot	631	7	0
36th, Lieutenant-general Pierfon's foot	325	6	8
37th, Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote's foot	631	7	0
38th, Major-general Pigott's foot	631	7	0
40th, Lieutenant-general Sir Robert Hamilton's foot	631	7	0
41st, A regiment, and twenty-six independent com- panies of invalids	6130	7	8
Carried over	21852	6	6
	Brought		

A. 1778.

D E B A T E S.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	21852	6	6
42d, General Lord John Murray's foot	600	0	0
43d, Honourable lieutenant-general Carey's foot	631	7	0
44th, General Abercrombie's foot	631	7	0
45th, Lieutenant-general Haviland's foot	631	7	0
46th, Honourable major-general Vaughan's foot	631	7	0
47th, Lieutenant-general Sir Guy Carleton's foot	631	7	0
49th, Honourable lieutenant-general Maitland's foot	631	7	0
52d, Lieutenant-general Sir John Clavering's foot	631	7	0
54th, Lieutenant-general Frederick's foot	155	5	0
55th, Major-general James Grant's foot	631	7	0
57th, Lieutenant-general Sir John Irwine's foot	155	5	0
60th, Lieutenant general Lord Amherst's foot, first battalion	388	17	6
60th, Ditto, second battalion	388	17	6
60th, Ditto, third battalion	1500	0	0
60th, Ditto, fourth battalion	1500	0	0
63d, Lieutenant-general Francis Grant's foot	631	7	0
64th, Lieutenant-general Pomeroy's foot	631	7	0
65th, Lieutenant-general Urmston's foot	631	7	0
66th, Major-general Gabbett's foot	325	6	8
68th, Lieutenant-general Lambton's foot	325	6	8
69th, Honourable lieutenant-general Philip Sherrard's foot	388	17	6
70th, Lieutenant-general Trapaud's foot	325	6	8
	34850	6	0
Savings on the pay of major-general Gabbet's regiment of foot, from the 29th of September, 1775, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive		2607	16 6
Savings on the pay of two additional com- panies of lieutenant-general Urmston's regi- ment of foot, from the 24th of September, 1776, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive		463	1 4
Total	37921	3	10

N. B. Respits are directed to be made by his Majesty's warrant, dated the 5th of January, 1778, on the pay of fundry regiments of foot in the year 1776, amounting to 27690l. which will be savings to the public, when the pay warrants are issued, and the proper acquittances given to the paymaster general.

Establishment of General and General Staff Officers, with their respective Pay and Appointments in North America, for the Year 1774.

	<i>Per Diem.</i>		
	£.	s.	d.
General and commander in chief	10	0	0
Two aids de camp to ditto, each 10s.	1	0	0
Secretary to ditto	0	10	0
Two brigadiers general, each 10s.	3	0	0
Three majors of brigade, each 10s	1	10	0
Deputy quarter-master general	0	10	0
Two assistants to ditto, each 5s.	0	10	0
Deputy adjutant general	0	10	0
Commissary of the musters	0	10	0
Two deputy ditto, each 5s.	0	10	0
Barrack-master general	1	0	0
Judge advocate	0	10	0
Commissary of the stores	1	0	0
Surgeon to the hospitals	0	10	0
Provost Marshal	0	2	0

Commanding Officers at the following Posts, viz.

Fort George	0	7	6
Niagara	0	7	6
Detroit	0	7	6
Ticonderago	0	5	0
Oswegatchie	0	5	0
Michillimachinac	0	5	0

Barrack Masters at the following Forts, viz.

Forts George, Miller, and the communication to Albany	0	4	0
Niagara, Schlosser, Erie, and the communication to Presqu'Isle	0	4	0
Communication to Philadelphia	0	4	0
Ticonderago	0	4	0
Detroit and Michillimachinac	0	4	0
Cumberland and Nova Scotia	0	4	0
Chartres, Kaskaskias, Illinois country	0	4	0
Oswegatchie	0	4	0
Total	25	2	0

N. B. Like establishment for the year 1775.

Establishment

Establishment of General and General Staff-Officers, and Officers of the Hospitals, with their respective Pay and Appointments in North-America, for the Year 1776.

Per Diem.

£. s. d.

General and commander in chief	-	-	-	10	0	0
Two aids de camp to ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Secretary to ditto	-	-	-	0	10	0
Six Majors general, each 2l.	-	-	-	12	0	0
Six aids de camp to ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	3	0	0
Four brigadiers, each 1l. 10s.	-	-	-	6	0	0
Three majors of brigade, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	10	0
Deputy quarter-master general	-	-	-	0	10	0
Two assistants to ditto, each 5s.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Deputy adjutant general	-	-	-	0	10	0
Commissary of the musters	-	-	-	0	10	0
Two deputy commissaries of ditto, each 5s.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Barrack master general	-	-	-	1	0	0
Judge advocate	-	-	-	0	10	0
Surgeon to the forces	-	-	-	0	10	0
Commissary of the stores	-	-	-	1	0	0
Provost Marshal	-	-	-	0	2	6

Officers of the Hospitals.

Three physicians, each 1l.	-	-	-	3	0	0
Two purveyors and clerks, each 1l. 5s.	-	-	-	2	10	0
Three surgeons, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	10	0
Four apothecaries, each 10s.	-	-	-	2	0	0
One chaplain	-	-	-	0	6	8
Twenty-four mates, each 5s.	-	-	-	6	0	0
Two storekeepers, each 3s.	-	-	-	0	6	0

Commanding Officers at the following Posts, viz.

Fort George	-	-	-	0	7	6
Niagara	-	-	-	0	7	6
Detroit	-	-	-	0	7	6
Oswegatchie	-	-	-	0	5	0
Michillimakinac	-	-	-	0	5	0

Barrack Masters at the following Forts, viz.

Forts George, Miller, and the communication to Albany	-	-	-	0	4	0
Niagara, Schlosser, Eric, and the communication to Presqu'Isle	-	-	-	0	4	0
Communication to Philadelphia	-	-	-	0	4	0
Detroit and Michillemakinac	-	-	-	0	4	0
Cumberland and Nova-Scotia	-	-	-	0	4	0
Chartres Kaskaskias, Illinois country	-	-	-	0	4	0
Oswegatchie	-	-	-	0	4	0

Total

58 5 8

Establish-

Establishment of General and General Staff-Officers, and Officers of Hospitals, with their respective Pay and Appointments in North America and the West-Indies for the Year 1777.

<i>General and General Staff-Officers.</i>				<i>Per Diem.</i>		
				£.	s.	d.
Two generals and commanders in chief, each 10l.				20	0	0
Eight aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.	-			4	0	0
Two secretaries to ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Four lieutenant-generals, each 4l.	-	-	-	16	0	0
Eight aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	4	0	0
Six major-generals, each 2l.	-	-	-	12	0	0
Six aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	3	0	0
One major-general in the West-Indies	-			2	0	0
One aid-de-camp to ditto	-	-	-	0	10	0
Six brigadiers general, each 1l. 10s.	-	-	-	9	0	0
Ten majors of brigade, each 10s.	-	-	-	5	0	0
Two quarter-masters general, each 1l.	-	-	-	2	0	0
Two deputy ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Ten assistants to ditto, each 5s.	-	-	-	2	10	0
Two adjutants general, each 1l.	-	-	-	2	0	0
Two deputy ditto, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Commissary of the musters	-	-	-	0	10	0
Two deputy ditto, each 5s.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Two judge advocates general, each 10s.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Barrack-master general	-	-	-	1	0	0
Commissary of the stores	-	-	-	1	0	0
Surgeon to the forces	-	-	-	0	10	0
Two provost marshals, each 2s. 6d.	-	-	-	0	5	0
One fourier	-	-	-	0	5	0
Five physicians, each 1l.	-	-	-	5	0	0
Three purveyors and clerks, each 1l. 5s.	-	-	-	3	15	0
Seven surgeons, each 10s.	-	-	-	3	10	0
Eight apothecaries, each 10s.	-	-	-	4	0	0
Sixty mates, each 5s.	-	-	-	15	0	0
Two chaplains, each 6s. 8d.	-	-	-	0	13	4
Three store-keepers, each 3s.	-	-	-	0	9	0

Commanding Officers at the following Posts, viz.

Fort George	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
Niagara	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
Detroit	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
Oswegatchie	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
Michillimakinac	-	-	-	-	0	5	0

Carried over

123 19 10

Barrack Masters at the following Forts, viz.

	<i>Per Diem.</i>		
	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	123	19	10
Forts George, Miller, and the communication to Albany	0	4	0
Niagara, Schloffer, Eric, and the communication to			
Presqu'Isle	0	4	0
Communication to Philadelphia	0	4	0
Detroit and Michillimakinac	0	4	0
Cumberland and Nova-Scotia	0	4	0
Chartres Kaskaskias, Illinois country	0	4	0
Oswegatchie	0	4	0
Commissary general of stores, provisions, and forage from			
the 1st of February, 1777,	3	0	0
	128	7	10

Establishment of General and General Staff-Officers of Hospitals, with their respective Pay and Appointments in North-America and the West-Indies for the Year 1778.

<i>General and General Staff-Officers.</i>		<i>Per Diem.</i>		
		£.	s.	d.
Two generals and commanders in chief, each 10l.		20	0	0
Eight aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.		4	0	0
Two secretaries to ditto, each 10s.		1	0	0
Four lieutenant-generals, each 4l.		16	0	0
Eight aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.		4	0	0
Six major-generals, each 2l.		12	0	0
Six aids-de-camp to ditto, each 10s.		3	0	0
One major-general in the West-Indies		2	0	0
One aid-de-camp to ditto		0	10	0
Six brigadiers general, each 1l. 10s.		9	0	0
Ten majors of brigade, each 10s.		5	0	0
Two quarter-masters general, each 1l.		2	0	0
Two deputy ditto, each 10s.		1	0	0
Ten assistants to ditto, each 5s.		2	10	0
Two adjutants general, each 1l.		2	0	0
Two deputy ditto, each 10s.		1	0	0
Commissary of the musters		0	10	0
Two deputy ditto, each 5s.		0	10	0
Two judge advocates general, each 10s.		1	0	0
Barrack-master general		1	0	0
Carried over		88	0	0

Per Diem.

£. s. d.

Brought over

88 0 0

Commissary of the stores	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
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Surgeon to the forces	-	-	-	-	0	10	0
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Two provost marshals, each 2s. 6d.	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
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One fourier	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
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Officers of the Hospitals, &c.

Five physicians, each 1l.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
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Three purveyors and clerks, each 1l. 5s.	-	-	-	-	3	15	0
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Seven surgeons, each 1l. 10s.	-	-	-	-	3	10	0
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Eight apothecaries, each 10s.	-	-	-	-	4	0	0
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Sixty mates, each 5s.	-	-	-	-	15	0	0
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Two chaplains, each 6s. 8d.	-	-	-	-	0	13	4
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Three store-keepers, each 3s.	-	-	-	-	0	9	0
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Commanding Officers at the following Posts, viz.

Fort George	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Niagara	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Detroit	-	-	-	-	0	7	6
---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Oswegatchie	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Michillimakinac	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Barrack Masters at the following Forts, &c.

Forts George, Miller, and the communication to Albany	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Niagara, Schlossers, Eric, and the communication to	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Presqu'Isle	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Communication to Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
-------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Detroit and Michillimakinac	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
-----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Cumberland and Nova-Scotia	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Chartres Kaskaskias, Illinois country	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
---------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Oswegatchie	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Commissary general of stores, provisions and forage	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

2

Total

128 7 10

Establishment

Establishment of Hospital Officers belonging to his Majesty's Garrisons in North-America and the West-Indies, with their respective Pay and Appointments for the Years 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778.

1774.	North America.	Per Diem.
		£. s. d.
Quebec,	Surgeon major	0 10 0
St. Augustine,	Surgeon	0 10 0
Pensacola,	Surgeon	0 10 0
Mobile,	Surgeon	0 10 0
South Carolina,	Surgeon	0 4 0
	Two mates, each 3s. 6d.	0 7 0
Nova-Scotia,	Surgeon	0 3 0
St. John's, Newfoundland.	Surgeon's mate	0 3 6
Providence,	Surgeon	0 3 0
Bermudas,	Surgeon's mate	0 3 6
Grenada,	Surgeon and purveyor	0 15 0
St. Vincent,	Surgeon	0 10 0
Dominica,	Surgeon	0 10 0
Tobago,	Surgeon	0 10 0

N. B. The like establishment as the above for the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778.

An Account of the Number of Recruits raised for his Majesty's Service in Great-Britain, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1777, distinguishing each Year.

Number of Recruits inlisted.

From the 29th of September, 1774, to the 1st of October, 1775, cavalry 456, infantry 3408.

From the 1st of October, 1775, to the 1st of October, 1776, cavalry 785, infantry 11583.

From the 1st of October, 1776, to the 29th of September, 1777, cavalry 362, infantry 7545.

Account of Persons employed in the different Branches of the Commissariate belonging to his Majesty's Forces in North-America and the West-Indies, with their respective Pay and Appointments for the Years 1774, 1775, and 1776.

1774.	North-America.	Per Diem. £. s. d.
Staff,	Commissary of the stores	1 0 0
Garrison of Quebec,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 10 0
Ditto of St. Augustine,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0 15 0
Ditto of Pensacola,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0 10 0
Ditto of Mobile,	Deputy commissary of stores	0 4 0
Ditto of Nova-Scotia,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 4 0
Ditto of Louisbourg,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 5 0
Ditto of St. John's Island,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 5 0

West-Indies.

Grenada,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0 15 0
St. Vincent,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 10 0
Dominica,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0 10 0
Tobago,	Deputy commissary of stores and provisions	0 10 0

N. B. The like account as the above for the years 1775 and 1776.

Account of Persons employed in the different Branches of the Commissariate belonging to his Majesty's Forces in North-America and the West-Indies, with their respective Pay and Appointments for the Year 1777.

<i>North-America.</i>		<i>Per Diem.</i>		
		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Staff,	Commissary of the stores	1	0	0
Garrison of Quebec,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	10	0
Ditto of St. Augustine,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0	15	0
Ditto of Pensacola,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0	10	0
Ditto of Mobile,	Deputy commissary of stores	0	4	0
Ditto of Nova-Scotia,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	4	0
Ditto of Louisbourg,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	5	0
Ditto of St. John's Island,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	5	0
Staff,	Commissary general of stores, provisions and forage, from Feb. 1, 1777	3	0	0

West-Indies.

Ditto of Grenada,	Commissary general of stores and provisions	0	15	0
Ditto of St. Vincent,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	10	0
Ditto Dominica,	Commissary of stores and provisions	0	10	0
Ditto Tobago,	Deputy commissary of stores and provisions	0	10	0

Account of Persons employed in the different Branches of the Commissariate belonging to his Majesty's Forces in North-America and the West-Indies, with their respective Pay and Appointments for the Year 1778.

<i>North-America.</i>		<i>Per Diem.</i>		
		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Staff,</i>	Commissary of stores -	1	0	0
<i>Garrison of Quebec,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	10	0
<i>Ditto of St. Augustine,</i>	Commissary general of stores and provisions -	0	15	0
<i>Ditto of Pensacola,</i>	Commissary general of stores and provisions -	0	10	0
<i>Ditto of Mobile,</i>	Deputy commissary of stores	0	4	0
<i>Ditto of Nova-Scotia,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	4	0
<i>Ditto of Louisbourg,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	5	0
<i>Ditto of St. John's Island,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	5	0
<i>Staff,</i>	Commissary general of stores, provisions, and forage	3	0	0

West-Indies.

<i>Ditto of Grenada,</i>	Commissary general of stores and provisions -	0	15	0
<i>Ditto of St. Vincent,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	10	0
<i>Ditto of Dominica,</i>	Commissary of stores and provisions -	0	10	0
<i>Ditto of Tobago,</i>	Deputy commissary of stores and provisions -	0	10	0

Estimate

Estimate of the Charge of several Augmentations to his Majesty's Forces from the respective Times under-mentioned, to the 24th of December, 1778, inclusive.

	Numbers.	Charge.	Total.
Augmentation to one battalion of foot in Great-Britain, from the 25th of December 1777, to the 24th of December, 1778, both inclusive, being 365 days	150	1885 16 8	
Ditto to eight other battalions for the same time	1200	15086 13 4	
		<u>1350</u>	16972 10 0
Royal Manchester regiment for the same time	1168	20768 10 0	
Royal Liverpool regiment, from the 8th of January, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive, being 351 days	1168	19971 18 0	
		<u>2336</u>	40740 8 0
Three Highland regiments of foot, from the 25th of December, 1777, to the 24th of December, 1778, both inclusive, being 365 days	3507	63126 15 0	
Two ditto for the same time	2336	41208 10 0	
One battalion of foot, commanded by Colonel Francis M'Lean, for 356 days, from the 3d of January, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive	1169	20523 8 0	
		<u>7012</u>	124858 13 0
		<u>10698</u>	182571 11 0

Carried over
A a

	Numbers.	Charge.	Total.
Brought over	10698		182571 11 0
Earl of Seaforth's regiment of Highlanders for 351 days, from the 8th of January, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive	1168	19813 19 0	
Edinburgh regiment of volunteers for 342 days, from the 17th of January, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive	1169	19716 6 0	
Regiment of Glasgow volunteers for the same time	1169	19716 6 0	
Seven companies of foot for 345 days, from the 14th of January, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive	812	13061 2 6	72307 13 6
Levy money for the augmentation of nine battalions, at 5l. 5s. per man, for 1350 men		7087 10 0	
Ditto for seven regiments of foot at 3l. per man, for 7574 men		22722 0 0	29809 10 0
Ditto for six companies of foot, at 3l. per man, for 648 men		1944 0 0	1944 0 0
Total	15016		286632 14 6

Abstract of the Number of Recruits raised by the several Regiments in Ireland, as they have been returned to the Adjutant-General by the respective Commanding-Officers of Regiments, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of Septem. 1777, distinguishing each year. Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin, January 5, 1778.

Regiments.		Number of Recruits raised, from 29th of Sept. 1774, to 29th of Sept. 1775.	Number of Recruits raised, from 29th of Sept. 1775, to 29th of Sept. 1776.	Number of Recruits raised, from 29th of Sept. 1776, to 29th of Sept. 1777.	Total of Recruits raised by each Regiment, from 29th of Sept. 1774, to 29 Sep. 1777.
Horse	1st,	26	65	56	147
	2d,	28	59	66	153
	3d,	21	47	48	116
	4th,	22	58	68	148
	5th,	42	154	110	306
Dragoons	8th,	45	170	45	260
	9th,	35	118	48	201
	12th,	73	136	61	270
	13th,	23	138	96	257
	14th,	89	171	48	308
Foot	18th,	51	140	25	216
	3d,	79	171	194	444
	11th,	100	429	57	586
	19th,	100	254	78	432
	30th,	85	271	125	481
	32d,		180	126	306
	36th,	246	239	95	580
	66th,	255	79	141	475
	67th,	143	232	133	508
	68th,	221	132	198	551
Total		1684	3243	1818	6745

J. BOWER, Deputy-Adjutant General.

N. B. The Regimental Books of the 32d Regiment of Foot were all lost by the Wreck of the Rockingham Transport, on the 22d of December, 1775.

Return of Recruits raised in the Royal Irish Regiment of Artillery to replace Men discharged, deserted, dead, and drafted, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1777, inclusive.

Recruits raised from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 28th of September, 1775	-	30
Recruits raised from the 29th of September, 1775, to the 28th of September, 1776	-	41
Recruits raised from the 29th of September, 1776, to the 29th of September, 1777, inclusive		104
	Total	<u>175</u>

N. B. Seventy of the above Recruits were recruited to fill up the Vacancies of those incorporated in the British Artillery serving in America in the Spring of 1777.

RICHARD BETTESWORTH, Major.

Royal Irish Artillery.

Abstract of the Returns of the Infantry in Ireland for the Month of November, 1777.

Regiments	Officers present.										Effective Rank and File.										Wanting to complete		Alteration since last Return.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					
	Commission.					Staff.					Colonels	Lieutenant Colonels	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants.	Ensigns	Adjutants	Quarter-masters	Surgeons	Mates	Serjeants present	Drummers and Fifer's present	Present fit for Duty	Sick in Quarters	Sick in Hospitals	On Command	Recruiting	On Furlough	Total	Rank and File	Inflicted	Dead	Discharged and recommended	Deserted																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
Lord Amherst, 3d	A-Court Ashe, 11th	Grane, 19th	Parlow, 30th	Amherst, 32d	Pierfon, 36th	Gabbit, 66th	Maxwell, 67th	Lambton, 68th	Invalids.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
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Dublin, Dec. 12, 1777.

J. BOWYER, Deputy-Adjutant General.

Abstract of the Returns of the several Regiments of Horse in Ireland for the Month of November, 1777.

Regiments.	Officers present.										Effective Rank and Files.										Wanting to complet.		Alterat. since last Return.						
	Non Commission Staff Com.																												
	Lieutenant Colonels	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Cornets	Adjutants	Surgeons	Quarter-masters	Corporals	Trumpeters present	Kettle Drummers present	Present fit for Duty	Sick in Quarters	Sick in Hospitals	On command	Recruiting	Recruits not joined	On Furlongb	Total	Present fit for Duty	Sick or Lame	Total	Rank and File	Trumpeters and Drummers	Rank and File	Inlisted	Dead	Discharged & not recommended	
Johnston, 1st	1	3	10	11	12	4	4	24	6	1	23	4	572	19	1	3	22	10	51	678	472	2	474	18	8	50	17	2	3
Fitzwilliam, 2d	1	0	2	2	3	3	1	6	16	6	1	124	5	0	0	8	10	25	172	120	1	121	2	2	10	6	2	0	0
Pitt, 3d	0	1	2	2	2	1	1	6	14	5	1	150	1	0	0	11	0	1	163	120	0	120	11	5	8	2	0	0	0
Honeywood, 4th	0	1	4	3	4	1	1	6	14	6	1	151	11	0	3	3	0	2	170	114	0	114	4	1	18	3	0	0	0
Total	1	3	10	11	12	4	4	24	6	1	23	4	572	19	1	3	22	10	51	678	472	2	474	18	8	50	17	2	3

Abstract of the Returns of the several Regiments of Dragoons in Ireland for the Month of November, 1777.

Regiments	Officers present										Effective Rank and File										Wanting to complete.		Alterat. since last Return.												
	Non										Men										Horses		Men		Horses										
	Commission Staff Com.										Men										Horses		Men		Horses										
	Lieutenant Colonels	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants	Cornets	Chaplains	Adjutants	Surgeons	Quarter-masters	Sergeants	Trump. and Hautboys present	Present fit for Duty	Sick in Quarters	Sick in Hospitals	On command	Recruiting	Recruits not joined	On Furlough	Total	Present fit for Duty	Sick or Lamé	On command	Total	Rank and File	Trumpeters	Rank and File	Infisted	Dead	Discharged & not recommended	Deserted	Recruited	Dead	Cass		
Sir Joseph Yorke, 5th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	226	12	1	34	0	0	0	15	288	181	2	0	183	0	5	19	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	
Severne, L. D. 8th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	185	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	191	137	0	0	137	1	0	1	10	0	9	2	0	1	0	
Mocher, 9th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	148	14	2	2	6	1	1	4	177	123	1	0	124	15	2	12	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Keppel, L. D. 12th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	174	10	0	2	4	0	0	6	192	135	2	1	138	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Douglas, L. D. 13th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	113	2	0	0	5	1	1	2	123	74	2	0	76	69	0	62	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warde, L. D. 14th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	177	1	0	1	3	1	1	8	190	123	0	1	124	2	2	12	18	0	0	3	0	0	1	0
E. of Drogheda, L. D. 18th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	172	3	0	0	5	3	3	2	185	126	0	0	126	7	0	12	9	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Total	2	6	17	22	27	1	6	5	38	39	29	1195	44	3	39	22	6	37	1346	899	7	2	908	94	9	118	47	1	11	7	2	4	1	1	

Dublin, December 12, 1777.

J. BOWYER, Deputy-Adjutant General.

An Account of the Gross Produce of the Customs of the Debentures, Bounties, Certificates, Salaries, and Incidents, Net Produce, and Payments into the Exchequer, from the Year 1760, as far as the same can be made up, distinguishing the Years.

Years	Gross Receipt		Debentures		Bounties		Certificates		Salaries & Incidents		Net Produce		Payments into the Exchequer	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1761,	4098042	12 3	2068865	10 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	292874	13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24094	13 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	231783	19 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1480423	14 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1858151	18 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
1762,	3990384	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1716951	9 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	274726	15 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	38988	16 9	233071	18 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1726845	2 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1854217	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1763,	5162381	19 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1638072	17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	298246	13 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	24396	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	242026	16 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2959639	10 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2247103	18 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1764,	4874765	19 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2264820	2 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	335813	7 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	27375	12 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	253315	18 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	1993440	18 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2159972	19 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1765,	4714732	11 1	2151926	4 9	210141	1 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	26500	13 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	320890	19 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2005273	12 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2264231	17 5
1766,	4552020	7 5	1563471	11 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	227130	2 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	19331	2 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	263234	9 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2478853	1 11	2437280	15 10
1767,	4286397	18 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1491547	13 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	147566	0 8	17244	9 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	271724	4 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2358315	10 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	2350850	5 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1768,	4429769	8 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1821232	15 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	134491	18 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	14283	12 2	263992	4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2195768	16 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2431916	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1769,	4588760	11 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1479599	4 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	139530	0 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	13316	16 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	257161	1 6	2699153	8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2610453	7 9
1770,	4583859	7 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1445953	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	170192	7 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	23298	9 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	267748	16 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2676666	13 8	2519931	3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1771,	5213422	11 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1667212	14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	202840	8 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	17035	9 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	276434	12 9	3049899	5 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2628237	18 2
1772,	5134503	17 8	2214508	11 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	172468	16 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	20723	5 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	285764	6 11	2441038	17 5	2525515	16 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1773,	5159789	7 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2463503	9 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	144982	16 10	19057	7 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	285026	11 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2247219	2 3	2431071	13 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1774,	5068766	17 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2132420	14 2	176991	2 2	24282	10 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	287573	6 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2447499	3 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	2547717	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1775,	5146900	0 0	1904900	0 0	203360	0 0	26300	0 0	303000	0 0	1709340	0 0	2476302	11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1776,	3726970	0 0	1544300	0 0	223030	0 0	30790	0 0	295500	0 0	1633380	0 0	2460402	11 2

Custom-House, London,
Jan. 20, 1778.

R. PARSONS, Comptroller-General.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Robinson to Richard Oliver, Esq. concerning Mr. Atkinson's Rum Contract. June 6th, 1777.

SIR,

SOME exceptions having been taken to the propriety of a contract entered into by the lords commissioners of the treasury with Mr. Atkinson, for supplying a quantity of rum to his Majesty's forces in America at 5s. 3d. per gallon, and that gentleman being desirous, as well as their Lordships, that the said contract should undergo a thorough investigation, it has been proposed to submit the same to your judgment, jointly with Beeston Long and Richard Neave, Esqrs. I am thereupon directed by their Lordships to request the favour of you to take the trouble of such examination, and if I have your permission so to do, I have their Lordships further directions to transmit you the necessary papers for that purpose.

Sir, &c.

JOHN ROBINSON.

A like letter to Beeston Long, Esq. jointly with Richard Oliver and Richard Neave, Esqrs. dated, &c. as above.

Ditto to Richard Neave, Esq. ditto with Beeston Long and Richard Oliver, Esqrs. ditto.

Report of Messrs. Long, Neave, Glover and Crichton, on the Reference of Mr. Atkinson's Rum Contract. July 16, 1777.

My LORDS,

IN consequence of a request to us from your Lordships, signified by Mr. Robinson, that we would undertake the examination of "a contract entered into by the lords commissioners of the treasury with Mr. Atkinson, for supplying a quantity of rum to his Majesty's forces in America at 5s. 3d. per gallon," and with the concurrence of your Lordships, to call in any third or fourth person as we should think proper, we have jointly with Mr. Glover and Mr. Crichton, who have obliged us with their constant attendance, and subscribed their names hereto, examined the whole evidence so amply furnished by your Lordships and Mr. Atkinson, and hereby submit to your consideration the following report.

The plan pursued in this investigation was to review the several circumstances of the time when this contract was

made, viz. on the 27th of March, 1776, when your Lordships by the minute of your board accepted of the tender made by Mr. Atkinson.

We find in the contract itself, that every precaution hath been observed for supplying the forces with rum of that proof which is deemed at the London market merchantable Jamaica rum, to ascertain which, the instrument referred to is in our opinion more completely adapted than any other mode hitherto devised; every party was duly provided with such an instrument by the board of treasury, and the whole quantity of rum delivered hath been certified by the several commanders or commissaries in America as corresponding with the proof stipulated by the contract.

To establish the price of such rum at the time, and justly to compute the charges and expences attending its delivery in North America, due information hath been obtained, and the following calculation, which we believe to be as accurate as the nature of the subject would admit, is the result of our enquiries.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Parts.</i>
First cost, at 2s. 9d. Jamaica currency per gallon, making sterling	1	11	57
Cask	0	3	0
Shipping charges 5s. sterling per puncheon	0	0	60
Leakage in the island, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	0	0	60
Commission 5 per cent	2	3	77
Cost on board at Jamaica	0	1	45
	2	5	22
Insurance to the several places of delivery averaged at 13 guineas per cent	0	4	75
Freight and primage	0	7	50
Agency in America, 10s. sterling, per punch.	0	1	26
Landing charges, 2s. 6d. sterling, ditto	0	0	30
	3	7	3
Interest of money and charges in England, 3 per cent	0	1	29
Leakage till landed, 10 per cent	0	4	43
	4	0	75

From

From this calculation, your Lordships may judge how far the contract in question *might at the time have been reasonably made cheaper* ; we have therein made a full allowance for every charge, which might probably occur in such a transaction.

It is very difficult to give an opinion upon another object referred to us, viz. "What unforeseen risks or expences have been actually incurred in the execution of the said contract, to diminish or take away such reasonable profit as might have been expected by the contractor," as unforeseen accidents may have happened from various causes, either from unexpected events, which could not be foreseen or allowed for, or from neglects and imprudencies in some part of the management, all which every undertaking may be liable to, and of which no estimate can be formed.

Finally, we submit that private contracts are the most liable to exception, and whether contracts in future are offered by public notice to the lowest bidder, or the article required is purchased in Great Britain, or elsewhere, by agents, at a commission usual among merchants, or procured by any other mode whatsoever, the protection of convoy in every instance is essential, not less to the oeconomy, than to the effectual service of the state, without a certainty of such protection for a basis. We, in answer to that part of the reference, requesting our opinion upon future contracts, can only represent to your Lordships, the insuperable difficulty of stating any price to be given hereafter, which would not be subject to objection ; but in a public view, if contractors, are obliged to take upon themselves all contingencies their utmost efforts may prove ineffectual, and that first object of public care in time of war, the supply of the army, be utterly defeated.

We have the honour to be, my Lords,

your Lordships most obedient

and most humble servants,

BEESTON LONG,

RICHARD NEAVE,

R. GLOVER,

WILLIAM CRICKTON.

*The right honourable the Lords
Commissioners of the Treasury.*

*Messrs. Long, Neave, &c. Further Report on Mr. Atkinson's
Rum Certificate. August 21, 1777.*

MY LORDS,

WE are happy in your Lordships' approbation of the trouble we have taken in the business of examining Mr. Atkinson's rum contract, for which your Lordships' have been pleased to direct Mr. Robinson to return us thanks by his letter of the 16th instant. Mr. Long having received it on the 19th, we have taken the earliest opportunity that our respective affairs would admit of assembling, in order to reply thereto.

Your Lordships' desire us to acquaint you,

1st, At what period we estimated that thirteen guineas per cent. was the rate of insurance.

2dly, On what items we have computed such insurance.

3dly, Whether, in our opinion, the accidents which have happened in this case to diminish the contractor's profit, have arisen from neglect or mismanagement, or are among the accidents which could not be foreseen, and which may happen from various causes, and of which no estimate can be formed.

In answer to the first query, we beg leave to repeat to your Lordships what we have stated as the ground-work of our report, that we estimated the rate of insurance, as well as every other item, *upon a review of the circumstances of the time when the contract was made.*

In answer to the second query, we computed the insurance (as will appear on the face of the estimate) on all the items incurred down to the rum being on board ship, and likewise covered the estimated premium of the insurance, so as to save the contractor harmless in case of loss, having in the next item of freight estimated that article at an extraordinary advance, in consideration that the contractor might in this particular case be liable to the payment of freight, notwithstanding the ships might be taken, and the rum consequently not arrive.

In answer to the last query, we beg leave to repeat to your Lordships, that we have made the most ample allowance for every charge which even in these perilous times could probably have affected the undertaking; and whether the several charges actually incurred have exceeded or fallen short of our estimate, and in what particular items; and whether the contractor's profit has been thereby less or greater than his
I
expec-

expectations, is a subject of investigation which we did not judge proper to go into then, and we are of the same opinion now. We have the honour to be, my Lords,

Your Lordships'

most obedient and most humble servants,

BEESTON LONG,

RICHARD NEAVE,

R. GLOVER,

WILLIAM CRICKTON.

To the right honourable the Lords
Commissioners of the Treasury.

London, Victualling-Office, 16 Jan. 1778.

An Account of the Expence of the Freight of Victuallers, hired to carry Provisions to North America, and the Value of the said Provisions for the Use of the Troops there. Also the Value of all Provisions, &c. shipped on board the Ordnance, Store-Ships, Ships of War, &c. for the Use of the said Troops, from the 1st of Oct. 1775, to the 30th of September, 1777.

£. s. d.

Value of provisions, &c. shipped on board
ordnance store-ships, from 1st Oct. 1775,
to 30th Sept. 1777 - - - 11436 7 4

Amount of necessary money paid to the ma-
sters of ordnance ships, from 1st Oct. 1775,
to 30th Sept. 1777 - - - 692 19 4

Amount of a bill made out to a lieutenant, for
victualling himself and servant on board an
ordnance ship - - - 29 2 10

Value of provisions, &c. shipped on board
ships of war, for the use of troops carried
out to North America, from 1st Oct. 1775,
to 30th Sept. 1777 - - - 1740 2 2

13898 11 8

MEM. There were not any victuallers hired to carry provisions to North America for the use of the troops, from 1st Oct. 1775, to 30th Sept. 1777, but it appears by accounts, transmitted by the agents for victualling his Majesty's navy there, that they had supplied out of the naval stock, provisions for the use of land forces, between 10th Oct. 1775, and 30th Sept. 1777, to the amount of 16445*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*

BATES. JONAS HANWAY. THO. COLBY. A. CHORLEY.
Extract

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 22d August, 1776.

I HEREWITH transmit you a copy of a dispatch sent to General Sir Guy Carleton, which, I think, makes it unnecessary for me to enter into a discussion of that part of your letter which relates to the difficulties that might arise upon a junction of your respective armies. A duplicate of this dispatch is sent therewith, which, for fear any accident should happen to the original, you will transmit to Sir Guy Carleton by the first opportunity.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Whitehall, 22d August, 1776.

THE rapid success of his Majesty's arms, in driving the rebels out of Canada, does great honour to your conduct, and I hope soon to hear that you have been able to pursue them across the lakes, and to possess those posts upon the frontiers which may effectually secure your province from any future insult.

His Majesty, in appointing you commander in chief of his forces in Canada, was pleased to extend your commission to the frontiers of his provinces bordering thereupon, wisely foreseeing, that it might be necessary for the completing your plan of operations, that you should march your army beyond the limits of your own government. I trust, before this letter reaches you, that you will, by your spirit and activity, have cleared the frontiers of Canada of all the rebel forces, and will have taken the proper measures for keeping possession of the lakes. That service being performed, his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, that there still remains another part of your duty to be undertaken, which will require all your abilities and the strictest application, the restoring peace, and the establishing good order and legal government in Canada. It is an object of the greatest importance to this country, the difficulties attending it are immense; but his Majesty depends upon your zeal, and upon your experience, for carrying it into execution. His Majesty, ever anxious for the happiness of his subjects, commands me to inform you, that no time should be lost in be-
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ginning so important a work, and that you do therefore return to Quebec, detaching Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, or such other officer as you shall think most proper, with that part of your forces which can be spared from the immediate defence of your province to carry on such operations as shall be most conducive to the success of the army acting on the side of New-York; and that you direct the officer so detached to communicate with and put himself, as soon as possible, under the command of General Howe, you will order such artillery as you shall judge necessary to proceed with this detachment; and as a great quantity of heavy cannon and military stores were sent, upon the supposition that Quebec might have been in the hands of the rebels, you will, upon requisition from General Howe, supply him with such cannon and stores as may not be wanted for the protection of Canada.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germaine, dated Hertford-street, 1st January 1777.

MY LORD,

MY physician has pressed me to go to Bath for a short time, and I find it requisite to my health and spirits to follow his advice: but I think it a previous duty to assure your Lordship, that should my attendance in town become necessary, relatively to information upon the affairs of Canada, I shall be ready to obey your summons upon one day's notice.

Your Lordship being out of town, I submitted the above intentions a few days ago personally to his Majesty in his closet; and I added, "That as the arrangements for the next campaign might possibly come under his royal contemplation before my return, I humbly laid myself at his Majesty's feet for such active employment as he might think me worthy of."

This was the substance of my audience, on my part. I undertook it, and I now report it to your Lordship in the hope of your patronage in this pursuit; a hope, my Lord, founded not only upon a just sense of the honour your Lordship's friendship must reflect upon me, but also upon a feeling that I deserve it, in as much as a solid respect and sincere personal attachment can constitute such a claim.

I leave in the hands of Mr. D'Oyley such of the memorandums confided to me by General Carleton as require dispatch,

patch, should your Lordship think proper to carry them into execution.

I also leave in that gentleman's hands the copy of an application relative to boats for the artillery, and which I take the liberty to submit to your Lordship as well worthy of consideration, upon the supposition that the enemy should arm upon Lake George, and that any operation should be adviseable by that route.

I likewise leave the disposition of winter quarters, which I received by the last ship from Canada. I find no dispatch is come to your Lordship by that occasion, and I conceived those papers might be of use.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

Memorandums and Observations relative to the Service in Canada, submitted to Lord George Germaine.

[Received from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.]

GENERAL CARLETON'S REQUISITIONS.

A BATTALION of seamen, consisting of 300 at least, that the expensive expedient to which we have been obliged to have recourse this year of detaining transports on account of their seamen might be avoided in future, even if it should be in our power to use it; but as there may not be a number sufficient of those ships in the river to furnish us as before, we should in that case be at a loss to man our vessels again; and it seems most probable, that we shall have the same, if not greater occasion for them next spring, at least it must be necessary to be provided against, all which may happen, as I find it impossible to remain here*.

* The above is an extract of a letter from General Carleton to General Burgoyne, dated Crown-Point, 22d October, 1776.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reasons stated by General Carleton in favour of the proposed corps of seamen, may appear to apply particularly to the service of armed vessels, and it may be imagined, that he has already, including the crews of frigates and transports wintering in the river St. Lawrence, a sufficiency of men for that

that purpose, even upon a supposition that the lakes should be again disputed.

But I beg leave to suggest the expediency of such a corps for the boats appropriated to the baggage, ammunition, provision, intrenching tools, artillery-stores and various other indispensable stores of an army.

A certain number of good watermen dispersed in the battalion boats, particularly in those of the foreign troops, who cannot learn to row well, would be of great use in point of regularity and expedition.

I am aware, that during the late war the battalion-boats were always rowed by their own soldiers, and I believe the store and artillery-boats were also supplied with rowers from the regiments; but it must be considered, that the regiments at that time were more than double in numbers to the present establishment.

After deducting, upon a moderate calculation, the sick hospital guards, general officers guards, many small drains of regimental service not to be avoided, and perhaps detachments assistant to the artillery, the battalions, exclusive of grenadiers and light-infantry which are separate from them, will hardly exceed 300 rank and file; if from that number is to be also deducted the guard for the boats when the troops land, and for the conveyance and care of stores that follow the army, the battalions will be much weaker than they ought to be for any operations.

The Canadians supply that service very ill, their great practice on the water being in canoes which paddle; they are very awkward with an oar; they are besides under no discipline, and continually desert or pretend sickness.

The corps proposed would enable the commander in chief to release great part of his present sea-force, as soon as the passage of the lakes was accomplished.

To facilitate this measure, it is humbly submitted, that men taken from the rivers in England might answer the purpose, without interfering with the present call for able seamen; and, with all due deference to General Carleton, I should imagine, that such a body thrown into independent companies of 60 each, with proper naval officers, would answer better than what is called in the demand a battalion.

REQUISITIONS.

An augmentation of artillery, consisting of two companies, and the whole number of companies on the service in Canada compleated to an hundred men each.

OBSERVATIONS.

I think it a duty to press upon your Lordships my opinion upon the expediency of this proposal. The artillery, after the light troops, is the important arm in this American war. The assistance obliged to be given from the line to that service, the last campaign, was a great weakening to the regiments, at the same time that it was a very inadequate substitute for trained artillery men.

REQUISITIONS.

Six months provisions to be sent out as early as possible in the spring, calculated at the full ration, for one third more than the effective of soldiers and seamen.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reason of this demand, to supply Canadians, savages, artificers, and some waste, which in spite of every possible precaution and diligence in the Commissary's department, will in some degree happen from the accidents and inconveniences (particularly leakage) attending water-carriage.

The Canadian Corvées, without which the service could not go on, must receive provisions. The savages also expect it for their women, and must be indulged.

Salt provisions are indispensably necessary for the upper posts at Niagara, &c. where there is great negotiation with the savages. They must also be solely depended upon for the movement of every body of troops acting beyond St. John's Lake Champlain, or beyond the island of Montreal by the Lake Ontario.

For an expedition by the latter route, provision should be carried for at least three times the number of the force the expedition sets out with, as it may be expected to be joined by large bodies of both savages and civilized inhabitants, before they reach a country of supply. The obvious measure of the enemy will be to drive the country, at the first news of a corps penetrating by Oswego or Fort Stanwix. It is well known, that Schuyler had taken precautions for doing it last year.

It is much to be feared that Canada will not afford provisions (corn excepted) for the maintenance of even the troops which are to remain in the province next year.

Upon the whole, therefore, I am persuaded, that the demand of General Carleton in this article will be found to be put as low as can be made consistent with the probable exigencies of the service.

RESO-

REQUISITIONSS.

A reinforcement of 4000 men.

OBSERVATIONS.

In a letter to me since I received General Carleton's memorandums, he expresses himself thus: " I have the more reason to expect the reinforcements which I have requested will be sent me, as Lord Cornwallis and his regiment, which were to have composed a part of this army, have been employed otherwise, and a very strong regiment of Germans was exchanged for a weak battalion of English. The idea upon which the General thought this reinforcement necessary has been explained in a memorandum I had the honour to present to your Lordship soon after my return. I have only to add, that the effective rank and file, by the last returns, amount only to 10,174, in which number is comprized a good deal of useless stuff, viz. men recruited in Germany for the British regiments sent over last year, not one tenth of whom, in the opinion of the officers of those regiments, will be fit for the ranks, from infirmities, malignant habits, dejection, or profligacy of disposition; many of the Irish recruits and drafts are equally bad. In the German regiments, there are also many unserviceable men.

The Royal Highland Emigrants have among them considerable numbers of recruits from the rebel prisoners; and, to judge of their future behaviour by that of last summer, great numbers of them may be expected to desert.

The Royal Regiment of New-York are not yet any thing like soldiers, having wanted commissioned officers and serjeants to train them.

Upon the whole, therefore, when a moderate deduction of sick is added to the useless, the whole of the Canada army, as it now stands, allowing for the recruits arrived in the autumn, and I believe not all comprized in the return, will not exceed 8000 men, of such troops, as I believe your Lordship would wish to risk the fate of an offensive campaign upon, or the reputation of any General you may think proper to recommend to his Majesty.

I humbly conceive it will be thought expedient to leave at least 3000 men in Canada; General Carleton may possibly think 1000 more necessary,

The danger of any attack upon Canada in force, may probably appear chimerical, when we have an army advanced beyond the Lakes, and I readily acquiesce in that opinion; although there are some examples that show the enemy capable

and inclined to that sort of enterprize, viz. the march of Arnold by the Chaudiere, before he knew or had cause to suspect the rapid success of Montgomery, who had drawn the force of Canada to oppose him, and thereby Quebec was left exposed.

A second example was the attack upon Trois Rivières last year; an offensive operation conceived upon a retreat, and attempted by beaten, disconcerted, sickly men.

A third example is the project well known to have been conceived by Mr. Washington for penetrating into Boston with a corps of 5000 men, and thereby changing ground with General Howe, at the time he meant to attack the works at Dorchester, a little before the evacuation of Boston.

But not to lay any stress upon the possibility of future rashness in like projects, I conceive that the number of troops I have mentioned will be found necessary, first, to guard against small incursions to secure your convoys of supply, which must all pass first up the St. Lawrence to Sorrel, and afterwards by that river and Lake Champlain, a very long track; 2dly, to keep the mutinous part of the country in due subjection; and 3dly, to enforce the duty of Corvées, which will be indispensably necessary for the supply of the army even among the well affected.

I conceive the disposition of the regular troops left in Canada would be, a garrison in Quebec	500
Posts upon the Chaudiere, and in the disaffected parishes of Point-Levi	300
Garrison at Montreal, and posts between that town and Oswegatchie	300
At Trois Rivières	100
Chain from Sorrell to Chamblée	100
St. John's	200
Isle aux Noix	300
La Prairie Vergere, and some other towns upon the south shore of St. Lawrence opposite the isle of Montreal, with posts of communication to St. John's	200
For escorts of convoys over Lake Champlain	400
Allowance for sickness, desertion and other casualties	600
	3000

It may be thought that Canadian militia might supply part of these purposes, and I beg leave to observe, it is so intended, the

the above calculation being made much too low without their assistance, it will be necessary to have chains of Canadian militia, patroles and posts in the woods behind the regulars, to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill-affected in Canada, to prevent desertion and procure intelligence, and for many other services that will be obvious for keeping the country quiet.

These services will be supplied by the several parishes, as their situations lie respectively to the objects, and may amount in the whole to 500 men. Another great call upon the Canadians will be for workmen at the fortifications of Sorrel, St. John's, Chamblée and Isle aux Noix. To the latter place it may be expedient to send the disobedient and refractory as a punishment, it being a place from which they cannot desert. To compleat the necessary works in the course of next summer will probably require 2000 men.

A still greater call upon the Canadians will be for the transport of all the provisions, artillery-stores and baggage of the army from the repositories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places. This service may, at the opening of the campaign, require 2000 men, besides a very large proportion of carts and horses, and will happen at the time of sowing of the corn.

It was to be hoped, that 1500 or 2000 men armed may be attached to the army destined to follow the enemy; when these numbers are cast up, Canada will be found to contribute to the full what the country can afford, I will venture to assert much more than it will afford, if any diminution is made in the number of regulars proposed to be left among them. Should there be ground to suppose that France is taking an underhand part in America, or has any future views towards the recovery of Canada, all the reasons for having a respectable force there will derive double weight; for safe as the country may be against a second reduction by the rebels, it is obvious to the slightest observations, that many parts of it are liable to be seduced by the French, and it cannot be doubted that there are emissaries ready for such an employment.

REQUISITIONS.

Twenty-four gun-boats to be constructed in England capable of carrying light 24 pounders, heavy 12 pounders, and 8 inch howitzers, and those pieces also to be sent from England.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tho' this requisition is not comprized in the memorandums given me by General Carleton, I thought it proper to subjoin it

it as an object of great importance. For the detail and utility of the boats, proposed in justice to Major-General Phillips, I refer your Lordship to a copy of that gentleman's letter to General Carleton upon the subject; and I beg leave to add, that should it be found necessary to drive the enemy from Lake George, where it is probable, if not obvious, they will strengthen themselves during the winter, these boats would be of the utmost consequence, as they would bear the transports by land from Ticonderoga to Lake George infinitely better than those built of green timber would be, from the improvements made in the construction of much greater service when there, than any now built, and would save great time in the campaign, as it will probably be necessary otherwise to wait the building them at Ticonderoga or Crown Point.

It would also be very proper to have carriages constructed here of seasoned timber, of which Captain Blomfield has a drawing, for conveying boats, as well those built in America as those now proposed, over land.

I beg leave to close these observations, with submitting to your Lordship, the expediency of transporting every article destined for the service in Canada early in the year and at once.

Most of the foregoing articles, if not all, are requisite for a vigorous opening of the campaign. And the provision which is to proceed to Lake Ontario for the whole year's supply, ought to leave Montreal early in the summer.

The passage up the St. Lawrence, both below and above Quebec, is precarious, and at best, extremely dilatory after the month of June, when the westerly winds prevail, and in the autumn no dependance can be had of a passage at all.

J. BURGOYNE.

Memoranda of General Careleton, relative to the next Campaign, to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to be laid before Government.

A reinforcement of 4000 troops, exclusive of completing the present army, is necessary for Canada.

It would be desirable to encrease the present establishment of British regiments to 100 per company as part of the desired reinforcement.

With a reinforcement to the above amount and well composed, a large corps may be spared to pass Lake Ontario and to operate upon the Mohawk river.

Another corps might possibly be employed to penetrate to Connecticut river.

Six months provisions for at least 20,000 men at full rations, ought to be sent out early in the spring. The numbers of mouths to feed, including savages, Canadians, artificers, seamen, &c. upon the lakes, may be reckoned a full third more than the troops. Canada will furnish flour sufficiently; but the drain of live cattle has been so great the last campaign, that very little can be expected.

A corps of boatmen is absolutely necessary for all operations in a country so much intersected with lakes and rivers as that wherein the Canadian army must act.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Phillips to General Carleton, dated St. John's, Nov. 9, 1776.

[Received from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.]

S I R,

The late expedition upon the Lake has fully made to appear the great utility of gun-boats when they are served by the royal artillery. That it is an armament peculiarly adapted to the service of the lakes in almost every case that can happen, and possessing singular advantages in light winds and calms, by covering our own vessels or attacking those of the enemy, of which the instance in the action of the 11th of October strongly evinces the truth.

It appears to me an object very worthy your Excellency's consideration for the next campaign; and I take the liberty of submitting to you, Sir, whether it would not be proper to make a demand from England for a certain number of these boats calculated to mount guns upon, to be sent from thence framed so as to be put together in Canada.

Their being sent from England becomes necessary, because they can be constructed there with seasoned timber, so as to render the boats platforms, carriages for guns, &c. &c. sufficiently strong for the service they are intended.

The gun-boats which were built here were of a good construction, but being new timber out from the woods, were not buoyant on the water, consequently not so useful as could be wished, nor strong enough to resist the force of heavy guns and howitzers. The building a number of boats of this sort here, would also interfere with and retard the refitting and fitting out the armament as it now stands for the ensuing

ensuing campaign. I therefore repeat, that I think gun-boats should be constructed in England; and I am positively of opinion, that a certain number should be ordered for this service.

The boats upon this principle, which came from England this year, must have been constructed by different persons; they were almost all different one from the other; some were indeed very good, others but indifferent, and two so very bad that they could not, with the utmost endeavour, be put together here.

From the experience we have had of these boats, and from the report of the officers of artillery and the gentlemen of the navy, they are not so perfect at any rate as they might and ought to be.

I have therefore directed a drawing of a gun-boat upon larger dimensions, having increased the length five feet, and so on according to that proportion.

These boats so constructed, are calculated to carry heavy twelve pounders, light twenty-four pounders, eight inch howitzers in the bow, upon sliding carriages, on moveable platforms, such as have been made here this year, and used with much success; there may be also mounted upon the stern of these boats two light three or six pounders to secure a defensive fire against an attack during the time the gun in front is in action against an enemy.

The conveniency and security of carrying ammunition is particularly attended to. The boats sent from England this year were remarkable insufficient in this particular.

I beg further to suggest, that it be recommended, that if the navy construct these boats, it may be done at one dock-yard, or if by contract, by one person; as by this means the timber will be all conformable to the plan, and there will be no difficulty in putting the boats together when they arrive in Canada.

I submit to your Excellency's consideration, whether there should not be boats demanded as follows:

For twelve pounders heavy brass	4
For twenty-four pounders light ditto	8
For twelve pounders medium ditto	8
For eight inch howitzers	4
	—
	24

I am not certain whether there are not twenty-four pounders cast upon a medium construction weighing about thirty-six

six cwt. Should it be so, I would offer to your Excellency, to have four such guns in place of the four heavy twelve pounders.

The gun-carriages, platforms, iron-works, and every other particular necessary to mount these guns upon these boats to be sent from England.

It will be necessary also, that some of the artillery before-mentioned, be sent with the boats and the ammunition required for the whole. I inclose a return upon that subject.

Captain Blomfield of the royal artillery, who has acted during the campaign as my Major of brigade, is perfectly acquainted with the intentions relative to these boats, the artillery for them and their compleat equipment.

As that officer is going to England, I will request of you, Sir, should your Excellency approve of what I have wrote on this subject, to recommend, that Captain Blomfield may have the care of seeing and attending upon the construction of these boats and their equipment in England.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the
greatest respect, your Excellency's most
obedient and most humble servant,

His Excellency General
Carleton, &c. &c. &c.

W. PHILLIPS.

Disposition of Winter Quarters in Canada.

[Received the 1st of Jan. 1777, from Lieutenant-General
Burgoyne.]

Winter quarters for the British troops, as ordered by his
Excellency the commander in chief, Nov. 1, 1776.

Head quarters of the army.

MONTREAL.

Royal artillery.

Twenty-ninth regiment.

General hospital.

King's R. regiment New-York.

La China,

La pointe Claire.

St. Anne.

The regiment emigrants,

La Chenaye.

Terre Bonne.

Rivière du Chêne.

Brigadier-General Frazer's corps upon the south of the ri-
ver St. Lawrence.

La Prairie.

Longueuil.

Boucherville.

Varrenes et Isle Therese.
 Vercherres et Isle Boucharet.
 Contre Cœur.
 Grand St. Ourr.

First brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Powell.

Upon the river Sorel,

Left of the brigade;

Thirty-first and fifty-third regiments.

Chambly.

Belloeil.

St. Charles.

St. Denys.

St. Antoine.

St. Ours.

Sorel.

Upon the river St. Lawrence and district of Montreal,

Right of the brigade;

Forty-seventh and ninth regiments.

Isle Jesus.

Rivière des Praires.

Saut de Recolet.

St. Geneviève.

St. Laurent.

Second brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Hamilton,

Left of the brigade.

Thirty-fourth and sixty-second regiments.

Quebec.

District of Quebec.

Right of the brigade.

Twenty-first and twentieth regiments.

Isle aux Noix.

St. John.

Thoughts for conducting the War from the Side of Canada.

By Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

When the last ships came from Quebec, a report prevailed in Canada, said to have been founded upon positive evidence, that the rebels had laid the keels of several large vessels at Sheenborough and Ticonderoga, and were resolved to exert their utmost powers, to construct a new and formidable fleet during the winter.

I will not, however, give credit to their exertions, in such a degree as to imagine the King's troops will be prevented

passing Lake Champlain early in the summer, but will suppose the operations of the army to begin from Crown Point.

But as the present means to form effectual plans, is to lay down every possible difficulty. I will suppose the enemy in great force at Ticonderoga; the different works there are capable of admitting twelve thousand men.

I will suppose him also to occupy Lake George with a considerable naval strength, in order to secure his retreat, and afterwards to retard the campaign; and it is natural to expect, that he will take measures to block up the roads from Ticonderoga to Albany by the way of Sheenborough, by fortifying the strong ground at different places, and thereby obliging the King's army to carry a weight of artillery with it, and by felling trees, breaking bridges, and other obvious impediments, to delay, though he should not have power or spirit finally to resist, its progress.

The enemy thus disposed upon the side of Canada, it is to be considered what troops will be necessary, and what disposition of them will be most proper to prosecute the campaign with vigour and effect.

I humbly conceive the operating army (I mean exclusively of the troops left for the security of Canada) ought not to consist of less than 8000 regulars, rank and file. The artillery required in the memorandums of General Carleton, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchet-men and other workmen, and 1000 or more savages.

It is to be hoped that the reinforcement and the victualling ships may all be ready to sail from the channel and from Cork on the last day of March. I am persuaded that to sail with a fleet of transports earlier, is to subject government to loss and disappointment. It may reasonably be expected that they will reach Quebec before the 20th of May, a period in full time for opening the campaign. The roads and the rivers and lakes, by the melting and running off of the snows, are in common years impracticable sooner.

But as the weather long before that time will probably have admitted of labour in the docks, I will take for granted, that the fleet of last year, as well batteaux as armed vessels, will be found repaired, augmented and fit for immediate service. The magazines that remain of provision, I believe them not to be abundant, will probably be formed at Montreal, Sorel and Chamblée.

I conceive the first business for those entrusted with the chief powers, should be to select and post the troops destined to remain in Canada; to throw up the military stores and

provision with all possible dispatch, in which service the above-mentioned troops, if properly posted, will greatly assist; and to draw the army destined for operation to cantonments, within as few days march of St. John as conveniently may be. I should prefer cantonments at that season of the year to encampment, as the ground is very damp and consequently very pernicious to the men, and more especially as they will have been for many months before used to lodgings, heated with stoves, or between decks in ships; all these operations may be put in motion together, but they severally require some observation.

I should wish that the troops left in Canada, supposing the number mentioned in my former memorandum to be approved might be made as follows :

	Rank & File.
The 31st regiment, British, exclusive of their light company of grenadiers	— 448
Macleane's corps	- - - 300
The 29th regiment	- - - 448
The ten additional companies from Great Britain	- - - 560
Brunswic and Hesse Hanau to be taken by detachments or complete corps, as Major-General Reidesel shall recommend, leaving the grenadiers, light infantry and dragoons complete	- - - 650
Detachments from the other British brigades, leaving the grenadiers and light infantry complete and squaring the battalions equally	600
	3006

My reason for selecting the 31st regiment for this duty is, that when I saw it last it was not equally in order with the other regiments for services of activity.

I propose the 29th regiment as it is not at present brigaded. I propose Maclean's corps, because I very much apprehend desertion from such parts of it as are composed of Americans should they come near the enemy.

In Canada, whatsoever may be their disposition it is not so easy to effect it.

And I propose making up the residue by detachment, because by selecting the men least calculated for fatigue or least accustomed to it, which may be equally good soldiers in more confined movements and better provided situations, the effective

effective strength for operation is much greater and the defensive strength not impaired.

I must beg leave to state the expeditious conveyance of provision and stores from Quebec, and the several other depositories, in order to form ample magazines at Crown Point, as one of the most important operations of the campaign, because it is upon that which most of the rest will depend. If sailing vessels up the St. Lawrence are alone to be employed, the accident of contrary winds may delay them two months before they pass the Rapids of Richlieu and afterwards St. Peter's Lake; delays to that extent are not uncommon, and they are only to be obviated by having a quantity of small craft in readiness to work with oars. From the mouth of the Sorrell to Chamblée, rowing and tacking is a sure conveyance if sufficient hands are found. From Chamblée to St. Therese (which is just above the Rapids) land-carriage must be used, and great authority will be requisite to supply the quantity necessary.

A business thus complicated in arrangement, in some parts unusual in practice, and in others perhaps difficult, can only be carried to the desired effect by the peremptory powers, warm zeal and consonant opinion of the governor; and tho' the former are not to be doubted, a failure in the latter, vindicated, or seeming to be vindicated, by the plausible obstructions that will not fail to be suggested by others, will be sufficient to crush such exertions, as an officer, of a sanguine temper, entrusted with the future conduct of the campaign, and whose personal interest and fame, therefore consequentially depend upon a timely out-set, would be led to make.

The assembly of the savages and the Canadians will also entirely depend upon the governor.

Under these considerations, it is presumed, that the general officer employed to proceed with the army, will be held to be out of the reach of any possible blame till he is clear of the province of Canada, and furnished with the proposed supplies.

The navigation of Lake Champlain, secured by the superiority of our naval force, and the arrangements for forming proper magazines so established as to make the execution certain, I would not lose a day to take possession of Crown Point with Brigadier Fraser's corps, a large body of savages, a body of Canadians, both for scouts and works, and the best of our engineers and artificers well supplied with intrenching tools.

The brigade would be sufficient to prevent insult during the time necessary for collecting the stores, forming magazines,

zines, and fortifying the posts ; all which should be done to a certain degree, previous to proceeding in force to Ticonderoga ; to such a degree I mean, as may be supposed to be effected in time of transporting artillery, preparing fascines, and other necessaries for artillery operations ; and by keeping the rest of the army back during that period, the transport of provisions will be lessened, and the soldiers made of use in forwarding the convoys.

But though there would be only one brigade at Crown Point at that time, it does not follow that the enemy should remain in a state of tranquility. Corps of savages, supported by detachments of light regulars, should be continually on foot to keep them in alarm, and within their works to cover the reconnoitering of general officers and engineers, and to obtain the best intelligence of their strength, position, and design.

If due exertion is made in the preparations stated above, it may be hoped, that Ticonderoga will be reduced early in the summer, and it will then become a more proper place for arms than Crown Point.

The next measure must depend upon those taken by the enemy, and upon the general plan of the campaign as concerted at home. If it be determined that General Howe's whole forces should act upon Hudson's river and to the southward of it, and that the only object of the Canada army be to effect a junction with that force, the immediate possession of Lake George would be of great consequence, as the most expeditious and most commodious route to Albany ; and should the enemy be in force upon that lake, which is very probable, every effort should be tried by throwing savages and light troops round it, to oblige them to quit it without waiting for naval preparations. Should those efforts fail, the route by South Bay and Sheenborough might be attempted, but considerable difficulties may be expected, as the narrow parts of the river may be easily choaked up and rendered impassable, and at best there will be necessity for a great deal of land carriage for the artillery, provision, &c. which can only be supplied from Canada. In case of success also by that route, and the enemy not removed from Lake George, it will be necessary to leave a chain of posts, as the army proceeds for the securities of your communication, which may too much weaken so small an army.

Left all these attempts should unavoidably fail, and it become indispensibly necessary to attack the enemy by water upon Lake George, the army at the outset should be provided with

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with carriages, implements, and artificers, for conveying armed vessels from Ticonderoga to the lake.

These ideas are formed upon the supposition, that it be the sole purposes of the Canada army to effect a junction with General Howe, or after co-operating so far as to get possession of Albany and open the communication to New York, to remain upon the Hudson's river, and thereby enable that general to act with his whole force to the southward.

But should the strength of the main American army be such as to admit of the corps of troops now at Rhode Island, remaining there during the winter, and acting separately in the spring, it may be highly worthy consideration, whether the most important purpose to which the Canada army could be employed, supposing it in possession of Ticonderoga, would not be to gain the Connecticut river.

The extent of country from Ticonderoga to the inhabited country upon that river, opposite to Charles Town, is about sixty miles, and though to convey artillery and provision so far by land would be attended with difficulties, perhaps more than those above suggested, upon a progress to Sheenborough, should the object appear worthy, it is to be hoped, resources might be found; in that case, it would be adviseable to fortify with one or two strong redoubts the heights opposite to Charles Town, and establish posts of savages upon the passage from Ticonderoga to those heights, to preserve the communication, and at the same time prevent any attempt from the country above Charles Town, which is very populous, from molesting the rear or interrupting the convoys of supply, while the army proceeded down the Connecticut. Should the junction between the Canada and Rhode Island armies be effected upon the Connecticut, it is not too sanguine an expectation that all the New England provinces will be reduced by their operations.

To avoid breaking in upon other matter, I omitted in the beginning of these papers to state the idea of an expedition at the outset of the campaign by the Lake Ontario and Oswego to the Mohawk river, which as a diversion to facilitate, every proposed operation would be highly desirable, provided the army should be reinforced sufficiently to afford it.

It may at first appear, from a view of the present strength of the army, that it may bear the sort of detachment proposed by myself last year for this purpose; but it is to be considered, that at that time, the utmost object of the campaign, from the advanced season and unavoidable delay of preparation for the lakes, being the reduction of Crown Point and Ticonderoga,

Ticonderoga, unless the success of my expedition had opened the road to Albany, no greater numbers were necessary than for those first operations. The case in the present year differs; because the season of the year affording a prospect of very extensive operation, and consequently the establishment of many posts, patrols, &c. will become necessary. The army ought to be in a state of numbers to bear those drains, and still remain sufficient to attack any thing that probably can be opposed to it.

Nor, to argue from probability, is so much force necessary for this diversion this year, as was required for the last; because we then knew that General Schuyler, with a thousand men, was fortified upon the Mohawk. When the different situations of things are considered, viz. the progress of General Howe, the early invasion from Canada, the threatening of the Connecticut from Rhode-Island, &c. it is not to be imagined that any detachment of such force as that of Schuyler can be supplied by the enemy for the Mohawk. I would not therefore propose it of more (and I have great diffidence whether so much can be prudently afforded) than Sir John Johnson's corps, an hundred British from the second brigade, and an hundred more from the 8th regiment, with four pieces of the lightest artillery, and a body of savages; Sir John Johnson to be with a detachment in person, and an able field officer to command it. I should wish Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger for that employment.

I particularize the second brigade, because the first is proposed to be diminished by the 31st regiment remaining in Canada, and the rest of the regiment drafted for the expedition being made also part of the Canada force, the two brigades will be exactly squared.

Should it appear, upon examination of the really effective numbers of the Canada army, that the force is not sufficient for proceeding upon the above ideas with a fair prospect of success, the alternative remains of embarking the army at Quebec, in order to effect a junction with General Howe by sea, or to be employed separately to co-operate with the main designs, by such means as should be within their strength upon other parts of the continent. And though the army, upon examination of the numbers from the returns here, and the reinforcements designed, should appear adequate, it is humbly submitted, as a security against the possibility of its remaining inactive, whether it might not be expedient to entrust the latitude of embarking the army by sea to the commander

mander in chief, provided any accidents during the winter, and unknown here, should have diminished the numbers considerably, or that the enemy, from any winter success to the southward, should have been able to draw such forces towards the frontiers of Canada, and take up their ground with such precaution as to render the intended measure impracticable or too hazardous. But in that case it must be considered that more force would be required to be left behind for the security of Canada, than is supposed to be necessary when an army is beyond the lakes; and I do not conceive any expedition from the sea can be so formidable to the enemy, or so effectual to close the war, as an invasion from Canada by Ticonderoga. This last measure ought not to be thought of, but upon positive conviction of its necessity.

*Hertford-street,
Feb. 28th, 1777.*

J. BURGOYNE.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Carleton, dated Whitehall, 26th March, 1777.

MY letter of the 22d of August, 1776, was intrusted to the care of Captain Le Maitre, one of your aid de camps; after having been three times in the Gulph of St. Laurence he had the mortification to find it impossible to make his passage to Quebec, and therefore returned to England with my dispatch; which, though it was prevented by that accident from reaching your hands in due time, I nevertheless think proper to transmit to you by this earliest opportunity.

You will be informed, by the contents thereof, that as soon as you should have driven the rebel forces from the frontiers of Canada, it was his Majesty's pleasure that you should return to Quebec, and take with you such part of your army as in your judgment and discretion appeared sufficient for the defence of the province; that you should detach Lieutenant General Burgoyne, or such other officer as you should think most proper, with the remainder of the troops, and direct the officer so detached to proceed with all possible expedition to join General Howe, and to put himself under his command.

With a view of quelling the rebellion as soon as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy junction of the two armies should be effected; and therefore, as the security and good government of Canada absolutely require your presence there, it is the King's determination to leave about 3000 men under your command, for the defence and duties

of that province, and to employ the remainder of your army upon two expeditions, the one under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany, and the other under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion on the Mohawk river.

As this plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, his Majesty strongly recommends it to your care, to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men; and I am happy in knowing that your influence among them is so great, that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil his Majesty's expectations.

In order that no time may be lost in entering upon these important undertakings, General Burgoyne has received orders to sail forthwith for Quebec; and that the intended operations may be maturely considered, and afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed by success, he is directed to consult with you upon the subject, and to form and adjust the plan as you both shall think most conducive to his Majesty's service.

I am also to acquaint you, that as soon as you shall have fully regulated every thing relative to these expeditions, (and the King relies upon your zeal, that you will be as expeditious as the nature of the business will admit) it is his Majesty's pleasure that you detain for the Canada service

The 8th regiment, deducting 100 for the expedition to the Mohawk,

Battalion companies of the 29th and 31st regiments, 460 896

Battalion companies of the 34th, deducting 100 for the expedition to the Mohawk, 348

Eleven additional companies from Great Britain, 616

Detachments from the two brigades, 300

Detachments from the German troops, 650

Royal Highland emigrants, 500

3770

You will naturally conclude that this allotment for Canada has not been made without properly weighing the several duties which are likely to be required. His Majesty has not only considered the several garrisons and posts which probably it may be necessary for you to take, viz. Quebec, Chaudière, the disaffected parishes of Point Levi, Montreal, and posts between that town and Oswegatchie, Trois Rivières, St. John's, Sele aux Noix, La Prairie, Vergere, and some other towns upon the south shore of St. Laurence, opposite the isle of Mon-

treal, with posts of communication to St. John's, but he hath also reflected that the several operations which will be carrying on in different parts of America must necessarily confine the attention of the rebels to the respective scenes of action, and secure Canada from external attacks, and that the internal quiet which at present prevails is not likely to be interrupted, or if interrupted, will soon be restored by your influence over the inhabitants; he therefore trusts that 3000 men will be quite sufficient to answer every possible demand.

It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure that you put under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne

The grenadiers and light infantry of the army, (except of the 8th regiment and the 24th regiment) as the advanced corps under the command of Brigadier General Frazer,	-	-	-	1568
First brigade, battalion companies of the 9th, 21st, and 47th regiments, deducting a detachment of 50 from each corps, to remain in Canada,	-	-	-	1194
Second brigade, battalion companies of the 20th, 53d, and 62d regiments, deducting 50 from each corps to remain as above,	-	-	-	1194
All the German troops, except the Hanau chasseurs, and a detachment of 650,	-	-	-	3217
The artillery, except such parts as shall be necessary for the defence of Canada.	-	-	-	—
				7173

Together with as many Canadians and Indians as may be thought necessary for this service; and after having furnished him in the fullest and compleatest manner with artillery, stores, provisions, and every other article necessary for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance which it is in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence, by the most vigorous exertion of the force under his command, to proceed with all expedition to Albany, and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

From the King's knowledge of the great preparations made by you last year to secure the command of the lakes, and your attention to this part of the service during the winter, his Majesty is led to expect that every thing will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the lakes by the time you and he shall have adjusted the plan of the expedition.

It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger

Detachment from the 8th regiment,	-	-	100
Detachment from the 34th regiment,	-	-	100
Sir John Johnson's regiment of New-York,	-	-	133
Hanau chasseurs,	-	-	342

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Together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians; and after having furnished him with proper artillery, stores, provisions, and every other necessary article for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk river to Albany, and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first packet; but you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest intelligence of this measure, and also direct Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger to neglect no opportunity of doing the same, that they may receive instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them, that, until they shall have received orders from Sir William Howe, it is his Majesty's pleasure that they act as exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the rebels, and bringing them to obedience; but that in so doing, they must never lose view of their intended junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal objects.

In case Lieutenant General Burgoyne or Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger should happen to die, or be rendered, through illness, incapable of executing those great trusts, you are to nominate to their respective commands, such officer or officers as you shall think best qualified to supply the place of those whom his Majesty has in his wisdom at present appointed to conduct these expeditions.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 2d April, 1777.

[Received 8th May.]

YOUR Lordship will receive inclosed a copy of my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, which goes in a few days by a frigate convoying Sir John Johnson, Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, and several officers, both British and Canadians, lately returned

turned from their captivity, together with a few recruits for the several corps in Canada.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to General Sir Guy Carleton, dated New-York, 5th April, 1777.

[*In Sir William Howe's of 2d April, 1777.*]

SIR,

HAVING but little expectation that I shall be able, from the want of sufficient strength in this army, to detach a corps in the beginning of the campaign to act up Hudson's river, consistent with the operations already determined upon. The force your Excellency may deem expedient to advance beyond your frontiers, after taking Ticonderoga, will, I fear, have little assistance from hence to facilitate their approach; and as I shall probably be in Pennsylvania when that corps is ready to advance into this province, it will not be in my power to communicate with the officer commanding it so soon as I could wish; he must therefore pursue such measures as may from circumstances be judged most conducive to the advancement of his Majesty's service, consistently with your Excellency's orders for his conduct.

The possession of Ticonderoga will naturally be the first object; and without presuming to point out to your Excellency the advantages that must arise by securing Albany and the adjacent country, I conclude they will engage the next attention; but, omitting others, give me leave to suggest, that this situation will open a free intercourse with the Indians, without which we are to expect little assistance from them on this side.

The further progress of this corps depending so much upon the enemy's movements, cannot be foreseen at this distance of time; still I flatter myself, and have reason to expect, the friends of government in that part of the country will be found so numerous, and so ready to give every aid and assistance in their power, that it will prove no difficult task to reduce the more rebellious parts of the province. In the meanwhile I shall endeavour to have a corps upon the lower part of Hudson's river, sufficient to open the communication for shipping through the Highlands, at present obstructed by several forts erected by the rebels for that purpose; which corps may afterwards act in favour of the northern army.

Major

Major Edmestone of the 40th regiment having been long detained a prisoner at Albany, and having procured leave to come here to negotiate his exchange, I have sent him back with directions to inform Mr. Schuyler, that if he permits him to go to Canada, I shall release a Major in exchange. He has information of too delicate a nature to commit to paper, and of the utmost importance in favour of the northern army advancing to Albany, which I trust he will find some means of communicating, even though he should not obtain leave to go to Canada in person.

I beg your Excellency may be pleased to favour me with the earliest intelligence of your movements, and flatter myself some method will be found of conveying it immediately to New-York.

With my most earnest wishes for your health and success,
I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, the 9th May, 1777.

[Received 2d July.]

I RECEIVED by Captain Le Maitre, who arrived here with General Burgoyne in the Apollo, the 6th instant, your Lordship's several dispatches from No. 3 to 7, inclusive, your separate letter of 26th March last, and the others from No. 9 to 16, inclusive, with the annexed papers.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, 26th June, 1777.

[Received 3d August.]

I ACQUAINTED your Lordship, in my letter, No. 19, that the troops ordered to be detached from the army in Canada, to serve upon expeditions under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, had been immediately put under their respective commands. Lieutenant General Burgoyne proceeded on the service allotted to him by your Lordship about the 17th instant, having sent on part of his army some time before, and the last of it left St. John's about the 20th. Major General Phillips serves upon this expedition;

expedition; and I have the satisfaction of being able to assure you, that all the troops, as well foreign as national, are in high health and good discipline.

This army has been joined by the Indians of St. Regis, Sault St. Louis, Lake of the two Mountains, and St. Francis, and the Hurons are immediately to follow; the whole of which Indians amount to about 500 warriors. But it is necessary to observe, that there is always an uncertainty as to the force of the Indians, parties being continually leaving them, and returning, as their humour leads them.

By accounts from Michillimakinac I learn, that all the western nations are desirous of coming down, and that the difficulty is to prevent the number of them from being so great as to cause distress to his Majesty's service. One body, consisting of 120, are just arrived; (part of those I ordered last year) they will follow General Burgoyne as fast as possible.

Having learnt, by intelligence from the frontiers of this province, that considerable numbers of loyal inhabitants were waiting for the approach of the army, to furnish them with opportunities of escaping from among their rebellious neighbours, and that they will take arms, I have made out blank commissions, and delivered them to General Burgoyne, to form two corps, as he shall find occasion; wishing to make up as far as I am able for his want of powers, and that in some degree he may avail himself of a favourable disposition in those people, and turn it to public utility immediately, lest the favourable moment should be lost in delay.

Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger has likewise begun his movements, taking with him the detachment of the 34th and the royal regiment of New-York, which is increased to about 300 men, and a company of Canadians. He will be joined by the detachment of the 8th, and the Indians of the Six Nations, with the Misesages, as he proceeds; about 100 of the Hanau chasseurs have since arrived, and they are on their way to join him.

That your Lordship may be more particularly informed of all these matters, I transmit the orders which I have issued on this occasion, together with copies of all letters worth your notice, which have passed between Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Major General Phillips, and me, on the subject of the arrangement they have thought proper to propose, a list of which papers is herewith inclosed.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated Montreal, June 10, 1777.

[*In Sir Guy Carleton's, June 26, 1777.*]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH I have communicated to you every thing I was made acquainted with relative to your and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger's expeditions, I cannot let you depart without giving you all the orders concerning them, in the manner they are contained in Lord George Germaine's letter of the 26th of March, 1777, for your further guidance and instruction, an extract from which letter is herewith inclosed. And I inclose you extracts of two letters from Lord Barrington, the one respecting the brigadiers, the other the recruits of the 33d regiment going under your command.

I also inclose for your private information, a copy of a letter which I have received from General Sir William Howe, wishing you a happy and successful campaign.

I am, &c.

G. C.

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germaine, dated Camp, on the River Bouquet, near Lake Champlain, June 22, 1777.

OPERATIONS of consequence being so near, I should have postponed this dispatch, but that I was unwilling to omit the immediate opportunity that offers of conveying to your Lordship intelligence so satisfactory, as I imagine will be that of the general cordiality of the Indians. Five hundred of those of the nearest nations arrived punctually at the rendezvous I had fixed for them, &c. larger numbers are daily expected. I met them yesterday in congress, and I inclose to your Lordship the substance of what passed. I gave them the war-feast according to their custom in the evening, and this morning a considerable detachment are gone forth, supported by regular light infantry, to break in upon the enemy's convoys and communications from the side of Connecticut, and to cover the reconnoitering of the country on the other side Ticonderoga, towards South Bay, which is the route I imagine they mean to retreat by, when
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Ticonderoga shall be forced. A plan that I shall endeavour to disconcert, as well as that of retreating by Lake George; should they try to pass cross the Green Mountains to Connecticut River, I should hope they would be much exposed to my pursuit. I have taken the occasion of the above detachment to disperse a manifesto, a copy of which I herewith inclose.

Substance of the Speech of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to the Indians in Congress, at the Camp upon the River Bouquet, June 21, 1777, and their Answer.

[*In Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's, June 22, 1777.*]

CHIEFS and WARRIORS,

THE great King, our common father, and the patron of all who seek and deserve his protection, has considered with satisfaction the general conduct of the Indian tribes from the beginning of the troubles in America. Too sagacious and too faithful to be deluded or corrupted, they have observed the violated rights of the parental power they love, and burned to vindicate them. A few individuals alone, the refuse of a small tribe, at the first were led astray, and the misrepresentations, the specious allurements, the insidious promises and diversified plots, in which the rebels are exercised, and all of which they employed for that effect, have served only in the end to enhance the honour of the tribes in general, by demonstrating to the world, how few and how contemptible are the apostates. It is a truth known to you all, that these pitiful examples excepted, and they probably have before this day hid their faces in shame, the collective voices and hands of the Indian tribes over this vast continent, are on the side of justice, of law, and of the King.

The restraint you have put upon your resentment in waiting the King your father's call to arms, the hardest proof, I am persuaded, to which your affection could have been put, is another manifest and affected mark of your adherence to that principle of connection to which you were always fond to allude, and which it is mutually the joy and the duty of the parent to cherish.

The clemency of your father has been abused, the offers of his mercy have been despised, and his farther patience would, in his eyes, become culpable, in as much as it would withhold redress from the most grievous oppressions in the

provinces that ever disgraced the history of mankind. It therefore remains for me, the General of one of his Majesty's armies, and in this council his representative, to release you from those bonds which your obedience imposed.---Warriors, you are free---Go forth in might of your valour and your cause; strike at the common enemies of Great-Britain and America---disturbers of public order, peace, and happiness---destroyers of commerce, parricides of the state.

The circle round you, the Chiefs of his Majesty's European forces, and of the Princes his allies, esteem you as brothers in the war; emulous in glory and in friendship, we will endeavour reciprocally to give and to receive examples; we know how to value, and we will strive to imitate your perseverance in enterprize, and your constancy to resist hunger, weariness, and pain. Be it our task, from the dictates of our religion, the laws of our warfare, and the principles and interest of our policy, to regulate your passions, when they overbear, to point out where it is nobler to spare than to revenge, to discriminate degrees of guilt, to suspend the uplifted stroke, to chastise, and not to destroy.

This war to you, my friends, is new; upon all former occasions in taking the field you held yourselves authorised to destroy wherever you came, because every where you found an enemy. The case is now very different.

The King has many faithful subjects dispersed in the provinces, consequently you have many brothers there; and these people are the more to be pitied, that they are persecuted, or imprisoned, wherever they are discovered, or suspected, and to dissemble, is, to a generous mind, a yet more grievous punishment.

Persuaded that your magnanimity of character, joined to your principles of affection to the King, will give me fuller controul over your minds, than the military rank with which I am invested, I enjoin your most serious attention to the rules which I hereby proclaim for your invariable observation during the campaign.

I positively forbid bloodshed, when you are not opposed in arms.

Aged men, women, children, and prisoners, must be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict.

You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take, but you shall be called to account for scalps.

In conformity and indulgence to your customs, which have

have affixed an idea of honour to such badges of victory, you shall be allowed to take the scalps of the dead, when killed by your fire, and in fair opposition; but on no account, or pretence, or subtlety, or prevarication, are they to be taken from the wounded, or even dying; and still less pardonable, if possible, will it be held, to kill men in that condition, on purpose, and upon a supposition, that this protection, to the wounded, would be thereby evaded.

Base lurking assassins, incendiaries, ravagers, and plunderers of the country, to whatever army they may belong, shall be treated with less reserve; but the latitude must be given you by order, and I must be the judge of the occasion.

Should the enemy, on their part, dare to countenance acts of barbarity towards those who may fall into their hands, it shall be yours also to retaliate; but till severity shall be thus compelled, bear immoveable in your hearts this solid maxim, it cannot be too deeply impressed, that the great essential reward, worthy service of your alliance, the sincerity of your zeal to the King your father, and never-failing protector, will be examined, and judged upon the test only of your steady and uniform adherence to the orders and counsels of those to whom his Majesty has intrusted the direction and the honour of his arms.

Answer from an old Chief of the Iroquois.

I stand up in the name of all the nations present, to assure our father, that we have attentively listened to his discourse. We receive you as our father, because when you speak, we hear the voice of our great father beyond the great lake.

We rejoice in the approbation you have expressed of our behaviour.

We have been tried and tempted by the Bostonians; but we have loved our father, and our hatchets have been sharpened upon our affections.

In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our whole villages able to go to war, are come forth. The old and infirm, our infants and our wives, alone remain at home.

With one common assent we promise a constant obedience to all you have ordered, and all you shall order; and may the Father of days give you many and success.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, July 9, 1777.

[Received 23d August.]

SINCE my last dispatches, I have received letters from Niagara, copies of which I think necessary to transmit to your Lordship, both as they regard the orders which I have already informed you, I had sent, for assembling the Indians of that neighbourhood to be put under the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, and a corps of rangers, which Colonel Butler has, of himself, formed for the purpose of serving with the Indians.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Butler, Superintendant of Indian Affairs, dated Niagara, June 15, 1777.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's, July 9, 1777.]

SIR,

YOUR Excellency's Letters of the 18th and 22d of May, I was honoured with on the 6th inst. and immediately in obedience thereto, had a meeting with a number of Chiefs, Sachems, and warriors of the Six Nations, and their allies then present, and communicated to them your orders; they expressed great satisfaction in having an opportunity to shew their friendship to their father, the King, in an immediate compliance with his will.

I have sent out runners and trusty persons into the Indian country, to collect the warriors; and farther, with the advice of the Chiefs assembled here, have sent to Mr. Hay at Detroit, for a body of the western Indians, to join their brothers of the Six Nations on this expedition, agreeable to mutual treaties subsisting between them.

His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency a list of officers, with their rank and pay, at the same time beg leave to acquaint you, that although, from the nature of the service, I find it requisite to employ a number of other persons for the good of the service, a list of which is also inclosed,
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yet I cannot think of recommending them to your Excellency for commissions, or to have rank.

I also transmit to your Excellency, a list of a body of rangers already raised and in pay.

A List of Officers employed in the Indian Department, with their Rank and Pay.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's, July 9, 1777.]

Peter Ten Broeck, John Johnson, James Wilson, Charles Beaume, Thomas Buller,	}	as Captains, at 10s. sterling per diem,
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William Caldwell, John Powell, John Tooft Harcamier, Lewis Clement, Frederick Yonge, Basent Frey, Andrew Thompson, William Ryer Bowin, Geo. M. Gumis.	}	as Lieutenants, at 4s. 6d. sterling per diem.
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Edward Smith, secretary to the department, with 12s. York currency per diem.

James Bennitt, Indian commissary of stores and provisions, at 10s. York currency per diem.

A List of Persons employed in the Indian Department, as of use, with their Pay.

James Seecord, at 8s. New-York currency per diem.

Philip Frey, Samuel Thompson, John Depue, John Yonge,	}	at 6s. New-York currency per diem.
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JOHN BUTLER.

A List

*A List of Persons employed as Rangers in the Indian Department.**[In Sir Guy Carleton's, July 9, 1777.]*

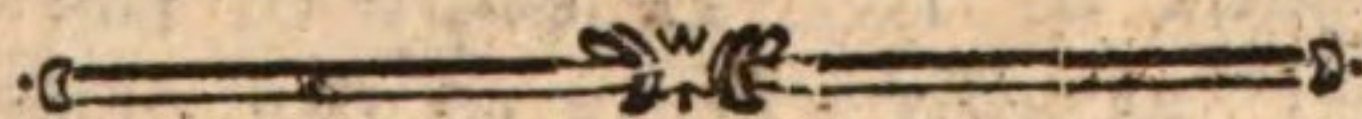
<i>Number.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Pay, New-York currency.</i>
1	Michael Morin,	at 4s. per day.
2	Thomas Sutton,	ditto.
3	George Steward,	ditto.
4	Emanuel Humphry,	ditto.
5	Benjamin Davis,	ditto.
6	Daniel Young,	ditto.
7	Harmanus House,	ditto.
8	Jacob Frederick,	ditto.
9	Joost J. Pane,	ditto.
10	Dirk Bell,	ditto.
11	John Rily,	ditto.
12	Moses Mounteen,	ditto.
13	Partial Tarry,	ditto.
14	Ruhart,	ditto.
15	Peter Danes,	ditto.
16	Josm Jole,	ditto.
17	John Secord, junior,	ditto.
18	David Secord,	ditto.
19	Silas Secord,	ditto.
20	John Secord,	ditto.
21	Solomon Secord,	ditto.
22	Stephen Secord,	ditto.
23	Adam Watman,	ditto.
24	Jacob Bowman,	ditto.
25	Henry Seamon,	ditto.
26	Peter Seamon,	ditto.
27	Nicholas Phillips,	ditto.
28	John Phillips,	ditto.
29	Nicholas Phillips, junior,	ditto.
30	Hund. Windeker,	ditto.
31	John Younger,	ditto.
32	Jacob Enguifh,	ditto.
33	Joseph Sern,	ditto.
34	Conrad Sels,	ditto.
35	Jacob Druner,	ditto.
36	Redman Parry,	ditto.
37	Robert Farrington,	ditto.
38	Joseph Page,	ditto.
39	Joshua Beebe,	ditto.

Number. Names. Pay, New-York currency.

- 40 Adin Beebe, at 4s. per day.
- 41 Jacob Take, ditto.
- 42 Tur. Adam Bowman, ditto.
- 43 Charles Encor, ditto.
- 44 Hend. Smith, ditto.
- 45 Hend. Bowin, ditto.
- 46 Lewis Maybie, ditto.
- 47 John Lord, ditto.
- 48 Levie Green, ditto.
- 49 John Jokes, ditto.
- 50 Frederick Winter, ditto.
- 51 Peter Miller, ditto.



- 52 Abraham Wartmay, at 2s. per day.
- 53 Adam Bowfman, jun. ditto.
- 54 Jacob Bowfman, jun. ditto.
- 55 Casper Hubert, ditto.
- 56 John Huber, ditto.
- 57 Stephen Farrington, ditto.
- 58 Hans Olderickshall, ditto.
- 59 George Cintner, ditto.
- 60 August Encar, ditto.
- 61 Nathaniel Hicks, ditto.
- 62 Charles Deprie, ditto.
- 63 Peter Secord, ditto.
- 64 John Parks, ditto.
- 65 Thomas Griffis, ditto.
- 66 Hendrick Winter, ditto.
- 67 Jacob Huber, ditto.
- 68 Isaac Van Valken Burg, ditto.



Dacuagne, interpreter, at 8s. per day.

Timothy Murphy, } 100l. per annum.
black-smith,

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germain, dated Quebec, Sept. 20, 1777. Received Oct. 31.

I TRANSMIT the copy of a letter, which I have received from Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, giving an account of a victory obtained by a party of his detachment, sent by him, under the command of Sir John Johnson, with a number of Indians, under Colonel Butler, over a body of rebels led by a General Herkener, and explaining the reasons which induced him afterwards to abandon the siege, which he had begun, of Fort Stanwix, and to retreat from the Mohawk-river. I likewise inclose a copy transmitted to me by Colonel St. Leger, of a letter from General Burgoyne to him : also, copies of letters I have received from Colonels Claws and Butler, of the Indian department.

Colonel Butler, with three principal chiefs of the Five Nations, came down here, being deputed for that purpose, to assure me of the steadiness of their attachment, of their readiness still to undertake any thing in their power for the advantage of his Majesty, and their full determination to persevere in the war. Colonel Butler represents to me, the expediency of having a body of rangers, as in the last war, to serve with the Indians, and proposed to me, to raise a corps properly qualified for that purpose, a part of which he has already engaged, and served with him on the late expedition. I thought the scheme calculated to draw the most advantage from the service of the Indians, of which the disposition of that people is capable ; and Colonel Butler having shewn himself, by his zeal, capacity, and services, worthy of the trust, I have furnished him with a proper power to raise a corps of rangers for this service, and appointed him major-commandant of it. A copy of his beating-order is herewith inclosed, as also a copy of the orders which I have given him, for the joining as fast as possible the army under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne with his corps, and as large a body of the Indians of the Five Nations as he can collect.

The domiciled Indians of Canada, and those of the upper country, which accompanied General Burgoyne's army, have at different times returned, those of the upper country alleging the remoteness of their habitations ; those of Canada other reasons ; which, considering that these people are never

to be prevailed upon by compulsive means I did not enter into: but having held a council with the chiefs of the upper Indians, and ordered them presents, I obtained a solemn promise, that they would return early in the spring with their numbers greatly increased, and as a pledge, they have left some of their young men to serve through the winter. The Canada Indians have likewise consented to return in considerable bodies, which they intend to relieve from time to time, by which means, General Burgoyne's army I hope will have large parties of these Indians constantly on service with him.

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Butler, dated Ontario,
July 28, 1777.*

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of Sept. 20, 1777.]

I HAVE now the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that on the 13th instant (two days after the Senecas and forty of the western Indians arrived) I left Niagara. In order to spare provisions, I had before appointed a number of Seneca warriors, together with many of their women and children, to meet me at Yrondequat, where I had promised to deliver them a present of cloaths, and some provisions, to support them in the absence of their husbands; at that place I waited seven days, to deliver them the presents, and give them the hatchet, which they accepted, and promised to make use of it. On the 19th, I received from General St. Leger, orders to send him 150 Indians, to act with the King's troops under his command, upon an attack against fort Stanwix. On the morning of the 20th, I had them ready, and sent off to him, under proper officers, whom I flattered myself he would approve. Every thing being settled with the Senecas, I left Yrondequat on the 24th, and on the 25th, arrived at this place, where, besides the Indians I brought with me, I found a large party, under the direction of Joseph the Mohawk, in consequence of a message I had sent him on the 30th past; besides these, I had ordered another large body of the Six Nations to meet me here, by way of the three rivers: but upon my arrival, found them stopped there, by order of Colonel Claus. Upon a review of the whole, I have the satisfaction to assure your Excellency, that the number of Indian warriors assembled at this

place, and the Seneca, or three rivers, cannot fall much short of 1000. The great resort of these people to this and every other place, to partake of the King's bounty, caused me to present to Colonel Bolton, before I left Niagara, another account for 4011l. 16s. 9d. York currency, for his approbation; since when I am informed he has sent it to your Excellency, for your acceptance. I must humbly beg your Excellency will do me the justice to believe, that in all my transactions I have endeavoured to execute your orders with the greatest œconomy in my power; and when you reflect the high value the Indians set upon their alliance, the tempting offers the rebels have frequently made to bring them over to their interests, together with their numerous women and children, who all expect to be cloathed in absence of their husbands, which, in my humble opinion, there is no avoiding, without disgusting those haughty and tenacious people; when your Excellency has weighed all these reasons, I flatter myself, that you will not think the expence, however high, to be useless, or given with too lavish a hand. Before I conclude, I must beg leave to remind your Excellency, that when I first arrived at Niagara, I found the Six Nations wavering, and of the two, rather inclined to the rebels. Encouraged by Colonel Caldwell and Captain Lernoult, and at the same time supported by you, I have spared no pains nor attention to fix them in the interests of the King. The pleasure attending my success, I have enjoyed by experiencing your Excellency's approbation of my humble though unwearied endeavours.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Butler to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Camp before Fort Stanwix, Aug. 15, 1777.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of Sept. 20, 1777.]

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency of the success of his Majesty's arms against a detachment of the rebels, on the 6th instant. Immediately after my arrival here, I was ordered by Brigadier General St. Leger to march with 400 Indians to intercept a party of the Mohawk-river militia (in number 900) whom he was informed were on their march to throw themselves into this place. In the evening, Sir John Johnson, with 50 of the royal New-York regiment, joined us. At ten o'clock the next morning, near
the

the Brisco field, we heard the rebels in full march with a convoy of 15 waggons of provisions and stores. We were immediately formed by the Seneca chiefs, who took the lead in this action, in concurrence with Sir John Johnson and myself; Sir John was posted on the road, to give the enemy a volley as they advanced; myself, with the Indians, and 20 rangers, were posted to flank them in the woods; this disposition was soon after a little altered by the Indians, while the enemy were advancing, and when they were near enough, threw in an heavy fire on the rebels, and made a shocking slaughter among them with their spears and hatchets: the rebels, however, recovering themselves, fell back to a more advantageous ground, and maintained a running fight for about an hour and a half. At length, the Indians, with the detachment of the Yorkers and rangers, pursuing their blow, utterly defeated them, with the loss of 500 killed, wounded, and taken; many of the latter were, conformable to the Indian custom, afterwards killed. Of the New-Yorkers, Captain M^c Donald was killed, Captain Watts dangerously wounded, and one subaltern; of the rangers, Captains Wilson and Hare killed, and one private wounded.

The Indians suffered much, having 33 killed and 29 wounded; the Senecas alone lost 17 men, among whom were several of their chief warriors, and had 16 wounded. During the whole action, the Indians shewed the greatest zeal for his Majesty's cause; and had they not been a little too precipitate, scarcely a rebel of the party had escaped. Most of the leading rebels are cut off in the action, so that any further attempt from that quarter is not to be expected. Captain Watts, of the royal New-Yorkers, whose many amiable qualities deserved a better fate, lay wounded in three places upon the field two days before he was found; however, it is thought he will recover. I should not do justice to the Indians in general, and to the Senecas in particular, was I not to acquaint you, that their behaviour in the action exceeded any thing I could have expected from them; the loss the Senecas have sustained will point out to your Excellency, how severe a share of it fell to them. The success of this day will plainly shew the utility of your Excellency's constant support of my unwearied endeavours to conciliate to his Majesty so servicable a body of allies.

Excerpt of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Oswego, Aug. 27, 1777.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of Sept. 20, 1777.]

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, that the accounts we received in Canada, concerning fort Stanwix, are the most erroneous that can be conceived. Instead of the insupportable and unfinished work we were taught to expect, I found it a respectable fortress, strongly garrisoned with 700 men, and demanding a train of artillery we were not masters of for its speedy subjection. Its form is a kind of trapezium, or four-sided figure, with four bastions prized and picketted; without, there is a good ditch, with pickets nipping out a considerable way at the salient angles of the bastions; three nines, four sixes, two threes, with a considerable number of wall pieces, were all the artillery the enemy made use of during the siege.

Since I wrote the above, the Hessians are arrived, with 50 of their men sick; one fortnight sooner, the Indians could have had no plea for their conduct.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, without Date.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of Sept. 20, 1777.]

I WROTE you some time since an account of the rapid progress of his Majesty's arms at Ticonderoga. I apprehend that letter did not come to hand. Insurmountable difficulties, occasioned by the heavy rains upon the roads, prevented me getting forward. I tried an expedition to obtain a supply of cattle, without waiting the transport of magazines; it has failed, not without some loss to the Germans. It will now be a fortnight before I can do any thing in your favour. It will remain therefore to be considered by you, first, whether you can force the place with the artillery you have; secondly, if not, whether you can remain before it without risk of your being cut from your retreat, till I can bring the enemy to a battle, or otherwise to assist you; thirdly, if you can re-embark your artillery, and join me

with

with your troops by the route through the woods to fort George.

I have mentioned these considerations in the order of preference I would desire, and a retreat by Canada, and so to follow me by Ticonderoga is the last.

In case you can effect the second consideration, or any otherwise keep footing in the country till I get possession of the mouth of the Mohawk, it might be a good measure to leave the garrison, and by forced and rapid marches to join me : but this must depend upon the good affections of Johnson's country.

I am, dear Sir,
yours ever faithfully,

J. BURGOYNE.

I beg to hear from you as frequently as possible. I have a copy of this, therefore you need only say first, second, third or last, according to the consideration you adopt.

N. B. This letter was not dated. It arrived the 25th at Onondago falls.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Oswego, Aug. 27, 1777.

[*In Sir Guy Carleton's of Sept. 20, 1777.*]

A MINUTE detail of every operation since my leaving La Chine with the detachment entrusted to my care, your Excellency will permit me to reserve to a time of less hurry and mortification than the present, while I enter into the interesting scene before fort Stanwix, which I invested the 3d of August, having previously pushed forward Lieutenant Bird, of the King's regiment, with 30 of the King's troops and 200 Indians, under the direction of Captains Hare and Wilson, and the Chiefs Joseph and Bull, to seize fast hold of the lower landing place, and thereby cut off the enemy's communications with the lower country. This was done with great address by the Lieutenant, though not with the effect I had promised myself, occasioned by the slackness of the Massafagoes. The brigade of provision-boats and ammunition I had intelligence of being arrived and disembarked before this party had taken post.

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The 4th and 5th were employed in making arrangements for opening Wood-creek, (which the enemy with indefatigable labour of 150 men for 14 days had most effectually choaked up) and the making a temporary road from Pine-ridge, upon Fish-creek, 16 miles from the fort, for a present supply of provision, and the transport of our artillery; the first was effected by the diligence and zeal of Captain Rouville, assisted by Captain Herkemer of the Indian department, with 110 men, in nine days; while Lieutenant Lundy, acting as assistant quarter-master-general, had rendered the road in the worst of weather sufficiently practicable to pass the whole artillery and stores, with seven days provisions in two days.

On the 5th in the evening, intelligence arrived by my discovering parties on the Mohawk river, that a reinforcement of 800 militia, conducted by General Herkimer, were on their march to relieve the garrison, and were actually at that instant at Oriska, an Indian settlement, 12 miles from the fort, the garrison being apprized of their march by four men, who were seen enter the fort in the morning through what was thought an impenetrable swamp.

I did not think it prudent to wait for them, and thereby subject myself to be attacked by a sally from the garrison in the rear, while the reinforcements employed me in front; I therefore determined to attack them on the march, either openly or covertly, as circumstances should offer. At this time I had not 250 of the King's troops in camp, the various and extensive operations I was under an absolute necessity of entering into, having employed the rest, and therefore could not send above 80 white men, rangers and troops included, with the whole corps of Indians.

Sir John Johnson put himself at the head of this party, and began his march that evening at five o'clock, and met the rebel corps at the same hour the next morning. The impetuosity of the Indians is not to be described; on the sight of the enemy, forgetting the judicious disposition formed by Sir John, and agreed to by themselves, which was, to suffer the attack to begin with the troops in front, while they should be on both flank and rear, they rushed in, hatchet in hand, and thereby gave the enemy's rear an opportunity to escape. In relation to the victory, it was equally complete as if the whole had fallen; nay, more so, as the 200 who escaped only served to spread the panic wider: but it was not so with the Indians, their loss was great: I must be understood, Indian

dian computation, being only about 30 killed and wounded, and in that number some of their favourite chiefs and confidential warriors were slain. On the enemy's side, almost all their principal leaders were slain; General Herkiman has since died of his wounds. It is proper to mention, that the four men detached with intelligence of the march of the reinforcement, set out the evening before the action, and consequently the enemy could have no account of the defeat, and were only in possession of the time appointed for their arrival, at which, as I suspected, the enemy made a sally with 250 men, towards Lieutenant Bird's post, to facilitate the entrance of the relieving corps, or bring on a general engagement with every advantage they could wish.

Captain Hoyes was immediately detached to cut in upon their rear, while they engaged the Lieutenant. Immediately upon the departure of Captain Hoyes, I learned, that Lieutenant Bird, misled by the information of a cowardly Indian, that Sir John was prest, had quitted his post to march to his assistance, I marched the detachment of the King's regiment in support of Captain Hoyes by a road in sight of the garrison, which with executive fire from his party immediately drove the enemy into the fort without any further advantage than frightening some Squaws and pilfering the packs of the warriors, which they left behind them. After this affair was over, orders were immediately given to compleat a two-gun battery and mortar beds, with three strong redoubts in their rear, to enable me, in case of another attempt to relieve the garrison by the regimental troops, to march out a larger body of the King's troops.

Captain Lernoult was sent with 110 men to the lower landing place, where he established himself with great judgment and strength, having an enclosed battery of a three-pounder opposed to any sally from the fort, and another to the side of the country where a relief must approach, and the body of his camp deeply entrenched and abattied.

When by the unabating labour of officers and men (the smallness of our numbers never admitting of a relief of three hours cessation for sleep or cooking) the batteries and redoubts were finished, and new checks and axeltrees made for the six-pounders, those that were sent being reported rotten and unserviceable, it was found that our cannon had not the least effect upon the sod-work of the fort, and that our royals had only the power of teizing, as a six-inch plank was a sufficient security for their powder magazine, as we learnt from
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the deserters. At this time, Lieutenant Glenie of the artillery, whom I had appointed to act as assistant-engineer, proposed a conversion of the royals (if I may use the expression) into howitzers. The ingenuity and feasibility of this measure striking me very strongly, the business was set about immediately, and soon executed, when it was found, that nothing prevented their operating with the desired effect but the distance, their chambers being too small to hold a sufficiency of powder. There was nothing now to be done but to approach the place by sap to a proper distance, that the rampart might be brought within their portée; at the same time, all materials were preparing to run a mine under their most formidable bastion. In the midst of these operations, intelligence was brought in by our scouts, of a second corps of 1000 men being on their march. The same zeal no longer animated the Indians; they complained of our thinness of troops, and their former losses. I immediately called a council of the chiefs; encouraged them as much as I could; promised to lead them on myself, and bring into the field 300 of the best troops; they listened to this, and promised to follow me, and agreed, that I should reconnoitre the ground properest for the field of battle next morning, accompanied by some of their chief warriors, to settle the plan of operations. When upon the ground appointed for the field of battle, scouts came in with the account of the first number swelled to 2000; immediately after a third, that General Burgoyne's army was cut to pieces, and that Arnold was advancing by rapid and forced marches with 3000 men. It was at this moment I began to suspect cowardice in some, and treason in others; however, I returned to camp, not without hopes, with the assistance of my gallant coadjutor Sir John Johnson, and the influence of the superintending Colonels Claus and Butler, of inducing them to meet the enemy. A council, according to their custom, was called to know their resolutions, before the breaking up of which I learnt that 200 were already decamped; in about an hour, they insisted that I should retreat, or they would be obliged to abandon me. I had no party to take, and a hard party it was to troops who could do nothing without them, to yield to their resolves, and therefore proposed to retire at night, sending on before my sick, wounded, artillery, &c. down the wood-creek, covering it by our line of march.

I now thought it time to call in Captain Lernoult's post, retiring with the troops in camp, to the ruined fort called Wil-

William, in the front of the garrison, not only to wait the enemy, if they thought proper to sally, but to protect the boats from the fury of the savages, sending forward Captain Hoyes, with his detachment and one piece of cannon, to the place where fort Bull stood, to receive the troops, who waited the arrival of Captain Lernoult. Most of the boats were escorted that night beyond Canada-creek, where no danger was to be apprehended from the enemy, as the creek at this place bending from the road has a deep cedar swamp between. Every attention was now turned to the mouth of the creek, which the enemy might have possessed themselves of by a rapid march by the Oneyda castle. At this place the whole of this little army arrived by twelve o'clock at night, and took post in such a manner, as to have no fears of any thing the enemy could do. Here we remained till three o'clock next morning, when the boats which could come up the creek arrived and proceeded across lake Oneyda to the ruined fort of Bireton, where I learnt, that some boats were still labouring down the creek, after being lightened of the best part of their freight by the Messasagoes. Captain Lernoult proposed, with a boat full of armed men, to repass the lake that night, to relieve them from their labour, and supply them with provision. This transaction does as much honour to the humanity as to the gallantry of this valuable officer.

On my arrival at the Onondago Falls I received an answer to my letter from General Burgoyne, (a copy of which I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency) which shewed in the clearest light the scene of treachery that had been practised upon me; the messenger had heard, indeed, on his way, that they were collecting the same kind of rabble as before, but that there was not an enemy within forty miles of fort Stanwix.

Soon after my arrival here, I was joined by Captain Lernoult with the men and boats he had been in search of.

I mean immediately to send off, for the use of the upper garrison, all the overplus provision I shall have, after keeping a sufficiency to carry my detachment down, which I mean to do with every expedition in my power, the moment this business is effected, for which purpose I have ordered here the snow. The sloop is already gone from this with its full lading.

Extract of a Letter from Daniel Claus, Esq. Superintendant on Brigadier St. Leger's Expedition, to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Oswego, 28th August, 1777.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of 20th September, 1777.]

I HAVE, however, the pleasure of assuring your Excellency, that the different Indian nations I happened to convene since my coming out, have demonstrated the most warm zeal of espousing and acting most heartily in the present cause for the interest of the crown; and am fully persuaded the Six Nations and their confederates are so firmly attached to his Majesty's interest on the present crisis, that they will continue so to the end of the contest, to which their late success against the rebels of Tryon county, as well as their pursuing revenge for their lost friends in said action will urge them on the more.

As doubtless Brigadier St. Leger has fully given your Excellency a detail of that affair, as well as the thereupon ensued retreat from Fort Stanwix, I will not incommode you with repetitions, but defer particulars to a personal interview.

Copy of Beating-orders to John Butler, Esq. appointed Major Commandant of a Corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of 20th September, 1777.]

GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, and Territories depending thereon, &c, &c, &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the said Province, and the frontiers thereof, &c, &c, &c.

TO JOHN BUTLER, Esq. appointed Major Commandant of a corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians.

BY virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the King, I do hereby authorise and empower you, or such officers as you shall direct, by beat of drum, or otherwise, forthwith to raise on the frontiers of this province, as many able-bodied seamen of his Majesty's loyal subjects as will form one company of rangers, to serve with the Indians as occasion shall require;

A. 1778.

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require ; which company shall consist of a captain, a first-lieutenant, second-lieutenant, three serjeants, three corporals, and fifty private men ; and when you shall have compleated one company as aforesaid, you are further impowered to raise and form another in like manner, and of like numbers as the first ; and so on until you shall have compleated a number of companies of rangers as aforesaid, not exceeding in the whole eight companies ; observing that the first be compleated, armed, and fit for service, and have passed muster before such person as shall be appointed for that purpose by some one of the commanding officers of his Majesty's troops nearest to where the said companies so raised shall be at the time, before another be begun to be raised. And of which light companies, or such part thereof as you shall be able to raise, you shall be Major Commandant ; two of the companies aforesaid (to be composed of people speaking the Indian language, and acquainted with their customs and manner of making war) for their encouragement, shall be paid at the rate of four shillings New-York currency by the day, non-commissioned officers in proportion, from the day of their enlisting ; and the other companies, (to be composed of people well acquainted with the woods) in consideration of the fatigue they are liable to undergo, shall be paid at the rate of two shillings New-York currency by the day, non-commissioned officers in proportion ; the whole to cloath and arm themselves at their own expence. You and the officers so raised to be paid as is customary to other officers of like rank in his Majesty's service. And you are carefully to obey and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from me, or the commander in chief for the time being, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Quebec, this fifteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the seventeenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

By his Excellency's command,
(Counter signed)

E. Foy.

Copy of Instructions to Major John Butler, Commandant of a Corps of Rangers, to serve with the Indians.

[In Sir Guy Carleton's of 20th September, 1777.]

GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, Captain-General, and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, and Territories depending thereon, &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said Province, and the Territories thereof, &c.

TO Major JOHN BUTLER, Commandant of a Corps of Rangers, to serve with the Indians.

HAVING appointed you to command a body of rangers, which it is expedient at this time to raise, in order to serve with the Indians, you shall, as soon as possible, march with such part of the said rangers as are already raised, or you shall immediately raise, and as large a body of the Six Nations, or other Indians, as you can collect without too much exposing their country to the incursions of the rebels, to join and put yourself under the command of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, giving him notice, as expeditiously as possible, of your approach towards him, and of the force you bring along with you; and all orders which you shall receive from the said Lieutenant General Burgoyne, you are to observe and obey. Given under my hand at Quebec, this 15th day of September, 1777.

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

Translated Copy of a Letter from Baron de Reidesel to Lord George Germaine, dated Camp at Jones-Farm, 28th August, 1777.

MY LORD,

I FLATTER myself that your Excellency deigns still to remember your most obedient servant, who assuredly serves with zeal for his Majesty's service, although his powers are so weak that he cannot be of such great use as himself wishes.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga, getting the day at Huberton, the capture of Skeensborough, and the retreat of the

enemy as far as Stillwater, 22 miles on this side of Albany, were successes so rapid, that scarcely could we pursue the enemy.

The want of carriage greatly retarded the transport of our provisions. To remedy this inconvenience, General Burgoyne designed to carry off the considerable magazine belonging to the enemy at Bennington, in the hopes of being able to subsist our own army for a certain time. The issue of that expedition was not according to our wishes.

To prove to your Excellency that neither the troops employed upon that expedition, nor that the two commanders were wanting in their conduct, or acted contrary to orders, I have the honour to present to your Excellency a brief relation of that melancholy affair, with the reports and instructions.

I hope we shall shortly have an opportunity to repair this check; and that the first news your Excellency will receive from our army will prove more satisfactory.

Recommending myself to your Excellency's goodness, I have the honour to be, &c.

REIDESSEL.

Account of an Affair which happened near Walloon-Creek, 16th August, 1777.

[In Baron de Reidesel's of 28th August, 1777.]

ON the 15th of August, at 8 o'clock in the morning, Sir Francis Clarke, aid de Camp to his Excellency General Burgoyne, brought me the order to march immediately with the corps under my command, consisting of a battalion of grenadiers, one of chasseurs, one rifle company, and two pieces of cannon, to the support of Lieutenant Colonel Baum.

I marched at 9 o'clock; and, on account of the scarcity of carts, I put two boxes of ammunition upon the artillery carts; each soldier carried forty rounds in his pouch.

The troops being obliged to ford Battensteile, I was detained a considerable time by it; the number of hills, excessive bad roads, and a continued rain, impeded our march so much, that we scarce made half an English mile in an hour; each gun and ammunition-cart was obliged to be dragged up the hills one after another; one artillery-cart was overturned, and with the greatest difficulty was put into a situation to proceed.

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All these difficulties delayed us much ; and notwithstanding every means was used, and no trouble or labour spared, it was not possible for me to march faster. Our guide lost his way, and after a long search in vain Major Barner was obliged to look out for a man, who put us again in the right road.

All these accidents prevented me from reaching Cambridge the evening of the 15th, and was therefore obliged to halt seven miles this side of it, where the men lay upon their arms all night.

Before I came to the place where I halted, I wrote to Lieut. Colonel Baum, to acquaint him of my coming to his support. Lieutenant Hannerman went with this account, and from thence to Lieutenant Colonel Baum's post, where he arrived at 11 o'clock at night ; I received an answer the next morning. (16th) Early in the morning I marched on ; but as the artillery-horses had had no food all the day before, and very little during the night, they were so weak as to be scarce able to drag the cannon ; on which account our march was very slow.

Major Barner, with the advanced guard, was obliged to go forwards to press horses, which we immediately made use of, and we continued our march as fast as possible, till about two miles on the other side of Cambridge, where I halted about half an hour to assemble the troops.

About two o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Skeene sent me two men, desiring an officer and twenty men, to take possession of the mill at St. Coyk, which the rebels intended possessing themselves of.

Instead of the detachment which he asked for, I sent a Capt. Gleiffenberg, with the advanced guard, consisting of sixty grenadiers and chasseurs, and twenty riflemen.

I followed with the column as fast as possible ; upon this march an ammunition-cart broke down.

At half past 4 o'clock in the afternoon I reached the mill, and found the advanced-guard in possession of it, and all quiet.

I must positively declare, that neither during the march, nor even after I reached the mill, I did not hear a single shot fired, either from small arms or cannon.

Colonel Skeene was at the mill ; and as he gave me to understand that the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Baum was not above two miles from me, I imagined I could not do better than push on to his support ; Colonel Skeene was of the same opinion,

opinion, and we marched on over the bridge near the mill, endeavouring to reach Colonel Baum as soon as possible.

At this time I knew nothing of his engagement being over; if Colonel Skeene knew it, I cannot conceive what his reasons were for concealing it from me. If I had known it, I certainly should not have engaged the enemy.

I had scarce passed the bridge 1000 yards when I perceived a considerable number of armed people, some in jackets, some in shirts, who were endeavouring to gain a height which was on my left flank.

I shewed these people to Colonel Skeene, who assured me they were royalists, and rode up towards them, and called out, but received no other answer than a discharge of fire-arms. I immediately ordered Major Barner's battalion to move off towards the heights, the rifle company and grenadiers moving towards the right, and then began the attack, and lasted till towards eight o'clock.

The cannon were posted on the road where there was a block-house, which the rebels left as soon as they began to fire upon it.

Notwithstanding fresh support was constantly coming to them, they were driven from every height.

The troops did their duty, and every one concerned did the same. As all the ammunition was expended, and the cannon ceased firing, nothing was more natural than to expect that the enemy would renew the attack, which, in fact, was the case.

I hastened with a number of men towards the cannon, in order to bring them off. On this occasion the men received the most dangerous wounds, particularly Lieutenant Spangenberg, some fire-workers, and some artillery; the horses were all killed, and if even one had been alive, it would not have been possible to have moved him.

In order then not to risque every thing, as I could not return the enemy's fire, as soon as it was dark I retired over the bridge, which I broke down, brought off as many of the wounded as I could, and, in company with Colonel Skeene, arrived about 12 o'clock at Cambridge: where, after taking the necessary precautions, I remained all night, and the next day, the 17th, I arrived at the camp.

This is the best account I can give of this whole affair. The loss of my cannon gives me the greatest concern; I did every thing in my power to save them, but the want of ammunition prevented me not only from returning the enemy's

my's fire, but even of getting out of it; many lost their lives and limbs, and could I have saved my cannon, I would with pleasure have sacrificed my life to have effected it.

BREYMAN, Lieutenant-Colonel,

Relation of the Expedition to Bennington.

[In Baron de Reidesel's of 28th August, 1777.]

THERE being great difficulty in procuring horses and carriages to transport the baggage and provisions of the army, to remedy this great inconvenience, which retarded the movement of the troops, it was determined to send out a detachment, as soon as expedient, to bring in horses for the above purpose, and to mount the Brunswick dragoons, if a sufficient number could be found. The army being assembled at Fort Edward, where it must necessarily halt a few days to transport the stores and provisions over the carrying-place, his Excellency Lieutenant-General Burgoyne took this opportunity of sending out a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, who was to have the following troops with him, viz.

Brunswick dragoons	-	-	-	150
Captain Frazer's light company	-	-	-	50
Peter's Provincial corps	-	-	-	150
Provincials and Canadian volunteers	-	-	-	56
Indians	-	-	-	100
				506

Governor Skeen was also sent with this detachment, from whose supposed knowledge of the country and influence amongst the inhabitants much was expected.

By Lieutenant-Colonel Baum's instructions (a copy of which is sent herewith) he was to proceed by Arlington, Manchester, &c. — August 9. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum marched from Fort Edward with the dragoons to Fort Miller, where he was to receive from the advanced corps, under the command of Brigadier-General Frazer, the remainder of the troops destined to make up this detachment.

August 10, Obligated to halt, the Provincials and Indians intended for him being gone on to Stillwater; to make up this deficiency, 100 Germans were ordered from Lieutenant-Colonel

Colonel Breymen's corps to join Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, some Canadians and Indians also joined him, but not so many as were first ordered.

His Excellency General Burgoyne this day changed the route first intended for the detachment, and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Baum to march directly to Bennington, intelligence being received that the rebels had a considerable magazine there.

August 11. Marched and took post at Buton-Kill opposite Saratoga.

August 12. Proceeded to Cambridge. This day his advanced guard fell in with and defeated a party of rebels, took eight prisoners, 1000 bushels of wheat, 150 bullocks, and several other articles, which he sent back to camp. Here he was informed, that there were from 15 to 1800 of the enemy at Bennington, and that they had a very considerable magazine there, besides 2000 bullocks and 300 horses. Encouraged by the success of his first attack, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum proposed to march next day towards Bennington, and dislodge the enemy from that post.

August 12. He sent every day exact reports of his progress and situation to General Burgoyne, with which his Excellency was perfectly satisfied, and approved of his design of attacking Bennington, so soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was fully informed of the enemy's number, and situation, and that it might be attempted with a prospect of success, and without running any risk.

August 13. The detachment marched out and took post four miles on this side of Bennington.

August 14. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum being ready to march off early in the morning, he was attacked by a body of 700 rebels, who, after having a few shot fired at them, retired and dispersed.

By some prisoners taken upon this occasion, and from some royalists who came in, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was informed, that the enemy were strongly entrenched at Bennington, that they expected a large reinforcement from the rebel army, and intended to attack him as soon as the reinforcement had joined them.

On receiving this information the Lieutenant-Colonel very properly deferred his intention of pushing on to Bennington, and halted in his post, sending off an express to inform General Burgoyne of his situation, and desiring that some troops may be ordered to sustain him.

August 14. His report was wrote in such high spirits, that the General was induced to believe, that he asked for a reinforcement more to enable him to attack the enemy than from any apprehension of his corps being in danger of being attacked.

In consequence of the above information, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman was ordered to march with his corps (the battalion of grenadiers and Barner's battalion, about 500 men) and two pieces of cannon to sustain Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, and an officer was sent off to inform the latter, that Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman had begun his march early the 15th.

The distance between the two corps rendered this reinforcement useless to Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, as they could not get up time enough to support him.

August 15. Some small parties were seen near Lieutenant-Colonel Baum's post, who always retired upon being fired upon. Accounts were also received, that the rebels expected every hour a large reinforcement from their army; however, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, being assured that Breyman's corps were on their march to sustain him, determined to maintain his post, notwithstanding the great numbers of the enemy. He took every possible precaution, and posted his detachment to the greatest advantage.

August 16. In the morning several bodies of men in arms were observed approaching his post. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was assured they were royalists, but their number increasing, he ordered out parties to reconnoitre, and soon perceived he was surrounded by the rebels from Bennington, reinforced by a large detachment from Mr. Arnold's army; on a signal being made by the rebels about half past ten, he was attacked on all sides by superior numbers; he maintained his post above two hours, and often repulsed the enemy, but finding that his men had expended all their ammunition, and Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps not yet appearing, he was obliged to think of a retreat with the dragoons (the Provincials, Canadians and Indians being already cut off from him). He twice forced his way through the enemy, and was as often attacked by fresh troops; as a last resource, he ordered his men to draw their swords and rush in upon the enemy, where, notwithstanding every effort of bravery, this corps overpowered by superior numbers was entirely broke, and we know not as yet what has been their fate.

Seven dragoons have escaped and joined the army. It is said Lieutenant-Colonel Baum is wounded, and no doubt
numbers

numbers of the officers and men are killed and wounded. The reports of those who escaped early are so various and contradictory that there is no depending upon them. They all however agree, that the rebels were between three and four thousand strong.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 21st October, 1777.

[Received 1st December.]

THE inclosures, No. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, have been also transmitted to me by Sir Henry Clinton, and am sorry to observe by them the very critical situation of General Burgoyne's army. He no doubt had success on the 19th of September; at the same time that action not being decisive would, by leaving him a number of wounded to transport, accumulate his difficulties in proceeding to Albany.

I have reason to believe he had a second action on the 7th instant, in which, by the enemy's report, they were successful; but this remains extremely doubtful, as they are ever ready to propagate the most direct falsehoods upon every occasion.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to General Sir William Howe, dated Camp at Fort-Edward, August 6. 1777. with a Note annexed, received from Sir Henry Clinton, October 7.

[In Sir William Howe's of 21st October, 1777.]

SIR,

I RECEIVED yesterday the duplicate of your letter of the 17th July, and shall strictly observe the contents. My progress from Skeensborough hither was very laborious, through a country naturally difficult, the roads and bridges all broken up, and in the face of the enemy, who retired nevertheless from post to post with considerable loss in killed and prisoners, and without any other troops engaged on our side than Indians and Provincials, and those have suffered no otherwise than in a few wounds. I have had the fullest satisfaction in the alacrity of the army, and the issue has justified my perse-

verance in preferring this route to the retrograde movement which it would have been to have taken the more commodious one by Ticonderoga and Lake George. The garrison of Fort-George, in danger of being cut off by my movement directly upon the Hudson's River, abandoned, as I had expected, the fort, and burned the vessels designed for the defence of the Lake. The first embarkation therefore from Ticonderoga, which I had ordered to be ready for that purpose, passed the Lake the day I took possession of this important communication by land, and the batteaux, which, had I taken the other route, must have been destined to the troops, were now employed for the transport of part of the magazines, which puts me well forward. I have nevertheless been compelled impatiently, but inevitably, to give considerable to pass artillery, provision and batteaux over so long a carrying place as fourteen miles, with a small number of horses and carriages respectively to the work. Your Excellency will likewise see the necessity of fortifying some posts in so very long a communication. I hope, however, to move to Saratoga (where the enemy is at present posted, but making disposition to retreat) in a few days, but as I have a carrying-place at Fort-Miller, and another at Stillwater, I do not apprehend it will be possible to be in possession of Albany, even supposing the enemy should not stand a battle, before the 22d or 23d. Should the opportunity of any stroke offer, I certainly, where I can convey necessary provision only, shall not wait the carriage of the tents or any other baggage. During my stay here, the Indians have done good service; not a day passes without prisoners brought in, some from miles behind the enemy's camp. I have detachments of seventeen different nations. There is infinite difficulty to manage them. My effort has been to keep up their terror, and avoid their cruelty. I think I have in a great measure succeeded. They attack very bravely, they scalp the dead only, and spare the inhabitants. I believe the scalp of the famous partizan Whitcombe, who killed Brigadier Gordon last year, to be in their possession. Mr. Arnold professes an intention to stand an action somewhere about Albany. I yet hear nothing of Mr. Washington. St. Leger is, I am assured by intelligence, in operation about Fort Stanwix. One reason of my impatience to gain the mouth of the Mohawk is to favour him. I hope the difficulties of communicating with your Excellency will soon decrease. I sent a confidential messenger to you some days ago, who I hope arrived safe. The letter you
mention

mention to have been intercepted in a canteen was not *from me* nor to you. It was an attempt of material purpose had it succeeded, without any possible disadvantage happening from the discovery.

As I mean Sir Henry Clinton to read this letter in its passage, I do not write to him separately. My best wishes and affection to him.

I am, with every possible sentiment of respect and attachment, Sir, &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

Purport of a Dispatch on or about the 20th of July, 1777.

ON the 16th instant the enemy dislodged from Ticonderoga, and were driven on the same day beyond Skeensborough on the right, and to Huberton on the left, with loss of 128 pieces of cannon, all their armed galleys and ammunition, military stores and provision, to a vast amount.

On the two succeeding days, the ascendancy of his Majesty's arms was further established by two separate actions at distant places and against superior numbers, in which the enemy's loss amounted to above six hundred dead upon the field, above three times that number wounded, and one Colonel, seven captains, ten subalterns and near four hundred prisoners.

Of the King's troops were killed one major, one captain, three lieutenants, one volunteer lieutenant of marines, two serjeants, forty-one rank and file.

Wounded two majors, five captains, ten lieutenants, one volunteer, thirteen serjeants, one hundred and forty-two rank and file.

Major Grant of the 24th regiment was the field-officer killed.

*Copy of a Note from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, dated 23d September, 1777.
Received 5th October.*

[*In Sir William Howe's of 21st Oct. 1777.*]

HAVE lost the old cypher, but being sure, from the tenor of your letter, you meant it so to be read, I have made it

it out. An attack, or the menace of an attack upon Montgomery must be of great use, as it will draw away a part of this force, and I will follow them close. Do it, my dear friend, directly.

Yours ever faithfully,

J. B.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Lieutenant General Sir H. Clinton, dated 28th Sept. 1777. Received 5th October, 1777.

[In Sir William Howe's of 21st Oct. 1777.]

SIR,

THE bearer, Captain Campbell, an officer of great merit and full confidence, is charged with an exact duplicate of my message to your Excellency dispatched yesterday by another officer. I request the most speedy answer by triplicates.

Believe me, &c. J. BURGOYNE.

Copy of an Inclosure received from Lieutenant General Sir H. Clinton, with the above Letter.

CONVERSATION with Captain Campbell sent by General Burgoyne to me.

He said he was desired by General Burgoyne to tell me that the General's whole army did not exceed 5000 men; that the consequences of the battle on the 19th were the loss of between five and six hundred men; that the enemy were within a mile and a half of him; that he knew not their numbers for certain, but believed them to be twelve or fourteen thousand men; that there was besides that a considerable body in his rear. That he wished to receive my orders whether he should attack, or retreat to the lakes; that he had but provisions to the 20th of this month; and that he would not have given up his communications with Ticonderoga, had he not expected a co-operating army at Albany. That he wished to know my positive answer, as soon as possible, whether I could open a communication with Albany, when I should be there, and when there keep my communication with New-York; that if he did not hear from me by the 12th instant he should retire.

To which I returned the following answer by Capt. Campbell, viz. That not having received any instructions from the commander in chief, relative to the northern army, and unacquainted even of his intentions concerning the operations of that army, excepting his wishes that they should get to Albany,

bany, Sir H. Clinton cannot presume to give any orders to General Burgoyne. General Burgoyne could not suppose that Sir H. Clinton had an idea of penetrating to Albany with the small force he mentioned in his last letter. What he offered in that letter he has now undertaken: cannot by any means promise himself success, but hopes it will be at any rate serviceable to General Burgoyne, as General Burgoyne says in his letter answering the offer "that even the menace of an attack would be of use."

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated Fort Montgomery, 8th October, 1777.

[In Sir William Howe's of 21st Oct. 1777.]

DEAR SIR,

NOUS y voilà, and nothing now between us but Gates. I sincerely hope this little success may facilitate your operations.

In answer to your letter of the 28th of September, by C. C. I shall only say, I cannot presume to order, or even advise, for reasons obvious. I heartily wish you success, and am, &c.

H. C.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, dated 27th September, 1777, and received at Fort Montgomery 9th October, 1777.
[In Sir William Howe's of 21st Oct. 1777.]

SIR,

CAPTAIN Scott, of the 24th regiment, is entrusted with the fullest dispatches and communications necessary to be known by your Excellency. He is an officer of great merit, and intitled to the fullest confidence.

I request you to return your orders by triplicates, by different routes, reckoning that your old cypher subsists.

I am, &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

Copy of an Inclosure received from Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton with the above Letter.

CAPTAIN Scott, of the 24th regiment arrived, on the 9th, from General Burgoyne, said that the army under the
Gene-

General's command, amounting to 5000 men, consisted of the following corps.

British 2000, Provincial V. 500, Germans 2500 ; that the rebel army was about 12,000, besides a body, supposed to be about 4000, that are hovering about ; that the continental troops alone amount to the number of General Burgoyne's army. Both armies were incamped a few miles above Still-Water, and the distance not exceeding a mile and a half, in many places not more than half a mile, the ground of both armies very strong. General Burgoyne can remain in his present position until the 12th, or until the 16th, should it be certain that the communication would be open by that time, between the armies of General Clinton and General Burgoyne ; if not, it will be necessary he should make good his retreat to Canada before the ice sets in.

General Burgoyne begs that Sir Henry Clinton will give him an answer, conveying the plainest and most positive meaning how he should act, for the good of his Majesty : whether he should proceed to Albany, or to make good his retreat to Canada. He cannot stay longer than the 12th, should he be obliged to retire to Canada, nor longer than the 16th should he proceed to Albany. He was obliged to give up the communication between him and the lakes, on his quitting the heights of Saratoga. Was he to get to Albany, he does not think he could be supplied with provisions for the winter ; the country there, and on the Mohawk river, being much drained, unless the communication is opened between Albany and New York.

In the action of the 19th of September, the British troops acquired great honour, though no material advantage was reaped from it, night coming on prevented it. The enemy fought with a good deal of obstinacy. Our loss about 530, mostly British, killed and wounded ; that of the enemy about 1200.

General Burgoyne begs Sir Henry Clinton will send duplicates either in writing or verbally, as soon as possible.

General Burgoyne thinks he could force his way to Albany ; but unless assured that the communication between that place and New-York was kept open, he could not subsist his army during the winter.

*Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated, Eagle, off New-York, 20th September, 1776.**

[Received 3d November.]

MY LORD,

FINDING in a conversation with Mr. Sullivan, a Major-General in the rebel army, taken prisoner in the action of the 27th August, that the leaders of the disaffected Americans professed to understand the powers delegated by the King's commission, were restricted to granting pardons and declaring the colonies at peace, without authority to enter into any discussion of grievances, I thought proper to inform that gentleman, that the object of his Majesty's paternal desire was to make his American subjects happy, as well as to relieve them from the calamities of war;---that the commissioners were willing to consult and confer with any persons of influence upon the means of attaining those ends; and that reconciliation, union, and redress of grievances might be the happy consequence. Mr. Sullivan hereupon proposed, and, with General Howe's approbation, I consented, that he should go to Philadelphia, and undeceive those who appeared to entertain that confined opinion of the King's most gracious intentions.

On the 9th instant, he returned and acquainted me, that he had made known the sentiments I had expressed to him, and that, according to the tenor of a resolution of Congress, three deputies might soon be expected in this province to enquire more particularly into the grounds of the information he had communicated.

I have the honour to send inclosed to your Lordship a copy of that resolution.

Although the object of this deputation apparently was to interrogate rather than to confer, General Howe concurred in opinion with me, that I should not on that account decline any proposition for a meeting. We thought it material to contravert the real or affected ideas before mentioned, which had probably been circulated with a view to persuade the ignorant, that the offer of peace and pardon, held forth in our declaration of the 14th July, was merely an artifice to disarm them, and that their liberties and properties were only to be secured by a perseverance in their resolution to throw off all dependence upon the King and Parliament of Great Britain.

* This letter was laid before the House of Lords only.

In the evening of the same day I received information, that Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams and Mr. Rutledge would meet me at any appointed place on the morning of the 11th. General Howe's presence being that day necessary with the army, he could not accompany me to the meeting, which I appointed should be on Staten Island, opposite to the town of Amboy.

I acquainted them, that the King's desire to restore the public tranquility, and to render his American subjects happy in a permanent union with Great Britain, had induced him to constitute commissioners upon the spot to remove the restrictions upon trade and intercourse, to dispense the royal clemency to those who had been hurried away from their allegiance, to receive representations of grievances, and to discuss the means whereby that mutual confidence and just relation which ought to subsist between the colonies and the parent state might be restored and preserved. I also gave them to understand, that his Majesty was graciously disposed to a revision of such of his royal instructions as might have laid too much restraint upon their legislation, and to concur in a revival of any of the plantation-laws by which the colonists might be aggrieved---that the commissioners were earnest on their part to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to proceed upon all such measures as might expedite the accomplishment of the purposes of their commission---that they were willing to confer with any of his Majesty's subjects, and to treat with delegates of the colonies legally chosen, upon all matters relating to grievances and regulations---but that, for very obvious reasons, we could not enter into any treaty with their Congress, and much less proceed in any conference or negotiation upon the inadmissible ground of independency, a pretension which the commissioners had not, nor was it possible they ever should have authority to acknowledge.

The three gentlemen were very explicit in their opinions, that the associated colonies would not accede to any peace or alliance, but as free and independent states; and they endeavoured to prove that Great Britain would derive more extensive and more durable advantages from such an alliance, than from the connexion it was the object of the commission to restore. Their arguments not meriting a serious attention, the conversation ended, and the gentlemen returned to Amboy.

In consequence of the result of the above mentioned interview, we judged it necessary to publish the declaration inclosed in our joint letter to your Lordship of this day's date.

If I have troubled your Lordship with a narrative too long and unimportant, you will do me the justice to impute it to the desire I have of communicating every circumstance from whence it is possible for your Lordship to collect information of the principles and conduct of those who still possess the government of this unhappy country.

I have only to add, that as the rebel army remain strongly posted at the north part of the island of New-York, and the inhabitants who had fled, or been compelled to leave the city before the King's troops took possession of it, are not returned, we have it not yet in our power, even were it expedient in the present moment, to effect the compleat re-establishment of the civil government of this district.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOWE.

*Copy of a Letter from the Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's Colonies in America to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 30th November, 1776.**

[Received 30th December.]

MY LORD,

A PROCLAMATION (of which we have the honour to enclose a copy) is the only step we have judged proper to take in the execution of our joint commission, since our dispatches of the 20th of September. The military operations have been so decisive in their several objects, that we may reasonably expect some good consequences from the measure, not only amongst the desponding multitude, who have been compelled or deluded into the present rebellion, and whose inclinations, we persuade ourselves, are on the side of government, but amongst those, who, perhaps despairing of being able to save their properties from the forfeiture they had incurred, could entertain no hope of security but by a perseverance, to the utmost extremity, in retaining the powers they had once usurped.

Notwithstanding the atrocious delinquency of some of the leaders and instigators of the war, we were unwilling, in the present situation of affairs, to exclude any of them from the benefit of the King's mercy, should they be disposed to return to their just allegiance within the period limited by our proclamation.

Punishment of those who have been most eminently guilty may be expedient for the sake of example to future times:

* This letter was laid before the House of Lords only.

but the re-establishment of perfect peace and tranquility being the principal object of our commission, we assure ourselves that his Majesty will graciously approve of that general lenity which we have held out as the most probable means of attaining it. Exceptions from his Majesty's pardon, as well as any prolongation of time within which a pardon may be obtained, will be matter of future consideration, according to the circumstances that may arise. In these and in all other respects, your Lordship may depend upon our acting with the strictest attention to the honour and dignity of the Crown, and to the speedy accomplishment of the great purposes of our appointment.

Addressees (copies of which we have the honour to inclose) have been presented to us, through his Excellency Governor Tryon, from considerable numbers of the inhabitants of the city and county of New-York, of King's county and of Queen's county, attesting their allegiance to the King and their submission to the constitutional authority of Great Britain, and praying to be restored to the peace of his Majesty. Lord Howe, to whom the addressees were presented in the absence of the General, did not think proper to return any other answer than that he would take the earliest opportunity of communicating with General Howe on the occasion. Sorry as we are to disappoint the expectations and zeal of any of his Majesty's loyal subjects, when we consider how small though important a part of this extensive province is yet professedly in allegiance, we cannot, with any degree of propriety, declare the whole at peace; and to open the trade of this province partially, even could any trade be now carried on, would, in the present situation of affairs, be productive of no good effect, and might introduce such abuses as would defeat the intentions of the prohibitory act.

We are, my Lord, &c.

(Signed)

HOWE,
W. HOWE.

Copy of Proclamation issued by the King's Commissioners, 30th November, 1776.

[In their Letter of 30th November, 1776.]

By Richard Viscount Howe of the Kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; General of his Majesty's Forces in America, the King's Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, &c. &c. &c.

P R O.

P R O C L A M A T I O N.

WHEREAS by our declarations of the 14th of July, and 19th of September last, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious intentions towards his subjects in the colonies or provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, all persons speedily returning to their just allegiance were promised a free and general pardon, and were invited to accept, not only the blessings of peace, but a secure enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principles of the constitution; and whereas, notwithstanding the said declarations, and the example of many who have availed themselves of the assurances therein made; several bodies of armed men, in open contempt of his Majesty's proffered clemency, do still continue their opposition to the establishment of legal government and peace, and divers other ill-disposed persons, pursuing their own ambitious purposes in the exercise of a lawless influence and power, are using fresh endeavours, by various arts and misrepresentations, to alienate the confidence and affection of his Majesty's subjects; to defeat every plan of reconciliation, and to prolong the unnatural war between Great Britain and her colonies; now, in order to the more effectual accomplishment of his Majesty's most gracious intentions, and the speedy restoration of the public tranquility; and duly considering the expediency of limiting the time within which such pardon as aforesaid shall be granted, and of specifying the terms upon which only the same shall and may be obtained, we do in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the powers committed to us, hereby charge and command all persons whatsoever, who are assembled together in arms against his Majesty's government, to disband themselves and to return to their dwellings, there to remain in a quite and peaceable manner; and we also charge and command all such other persons as are assembled together under the name of General or Provincial Congresses, Committees, Conventions, or other Associations, by whatsoever name or names known and distinguished, or who under the colour of any authority from any such Congress, Committee, Convention, and other Association, take upon them to issue or execute any orders for levying money, raising troops, fitting out armed ships and vessels, imprisoning, or otherwise molesting his Majesty's

Majesty's subjects, to desist and cease from all such treasonable actings and doings, and to relinquish all such usurped power and authority, so that peace may be restored, a speedy remission of past offences quiet the apprehensions of the guilty, and all the inhabitants of the said colonies be enabled to reap the benefit of his Majesty's paternal goodness in the preservation of their property, the restoration of their commerce, and the security of their most valuable rights, under the just and moderate authority of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and we do hereby declare and make known to all men, that every person who within sixty days from the day of the date hereof shall appear before the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander in Chief in any of his Majesty's colonies or provinces aforesaid, or before the General or Commanding officer of his Majesty's forces in America, or any other officer in his Majesty's service, having the command of any detachment or parties of his Majesty's forces there, or before the Admiral or Commander in Chief of his Majesty's fleets, or any other officer commanding any of his Majesty's ships of war, or any armed vessel in his Majesty's service, within any of the ports, havens, creeks, or upon the coasts of America, and shall claim the benefit of this proclamation, and at the same time testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a declaration in the words following, "I, A. B. do promise and declare, that I will remain in a peaceable obedience to his Majesty, and will not take up arms, nor encourage others to take up arms, in opposition to his authority," shall and may obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons and misprisions of treasons, by him heretofore committed or done, and of all forfeitures, attainders and penalties for the same; and upon producing to us, or to either of us, a certificate of such his appearance and declaration, shall and may have and receive such pardon made and passed to him in due form.

By command of their
Excellencies,
Henry Strachey.

} Given at New-York,
this 30th day of No-
vember, 1776.

(Signed)

HOWE,
W. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, November 28, 1776.

[Received 30th December.]

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches of the 11th, 12th and 21st of June, four different

different letters of 22d of August, enclosing one to Sir Guy Carleton of the same date.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, July 5th, 1777.

I HAD the honour to receive by the Somerset, transmitted by Mr. D'Oyley, copies of your Lordship's letters to Sir Guy Carleton of the 26th of March, and John Stuart, Esq; of the 2d of April, together with the several states of the Anspach corps, detachment of artillery, chasseurs, &c.

[Upon comparing the several Letters published in the London Gazette with the Copies of the same Letters upon the Table, the following Paragraphs in General Burgoyne's Letter to Sir William Howe, dated Camp before Ticonderoga, July 2d, 1777, were found to be omitted.]

THE enemy do not appear to have the least suspicion of the King's instructions relative to the campaign after the reduction of Ticonderoga.

I shall implicitly follow the ideas I communicated to your Excellency in my letters from Plymouth and Quebec.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

*Translated Copy of the Contents of the Instructions given to Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, with Regard to an Expedition he is to command.**

THE intention of this expedition is to dive into the sentiments of the inhabitants, to mount the regiment of dragoons, and to attempt furnishing the army with horses, cattle and waggons. He was to take the route of Arlington, Manchester and Rockingham. He was to halt at each of these places, and from Manchester he was to send a detachment of Indians and Provincials up Connecticut river as far as Number Four. From Manchester he was to continue his march to Rockingham, where he was to take post. The Lieutenant-Colonel, with his corps of regular troops, is not to pass beyond Rockingham. He is there to take the most advantageous situation. All cattle, waggons and horses are to be sent to the army, and driven by Provincials well escorted. When the service is ef-

* This copy differs from the copy published in America.

fectcd, he is to take the shortest route by Brattenburg to Albany, there to join the body of the army. Wherever he passes he is to make the inhabitants believe, that the corps which he commands is the van-guard of the army, which is to take the route of Boston, and that he is to be joined at Springfield by a body of troops from Rhode-Island.

In case the army should not be arrived at Albany so soon as the Lieutenant-Colonel has finished the business, General Burgoyne will give him advice, and will recall him to the army, or will give another route to his corps.

The Lieutenant-Colonel must send intelligence from time to time of his position, and of what he has effected.

Should the enemy face him with too great a force, General Burgoyne will not fail to send him the most speedy succours, or will so take his measures, that the enemy shall find themselves between two fires.

*Camp at Fort-Edward,
August 7th, 1777.*

J. BURGOYNE.
Lieutenant-General.

This in general is the contents of the instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Baum. The changes in his route were made upon the report of Colonel Skeen, who informed General Burgoyne, that there was a very considerable magazine at Bennington, and that it would be very easy to surprise and make himself master of it. The Lieutenant-Colonel was immediately sent from Batten-Kill directly towards Bennington. The rebels having sent very great reinforcements to that place, the Lieutenant-Colonel could not, absolutely with a handful of soldiers, resist the efforts of the enemy, who had at least ten times his force. The unhappy result is but too well known.

Number of the Troops employed upon that Expedition.

Regiment of dragoons	-	-	160
Indians	-	-	100
Peter's corps	-	-	150
Provincial and Canadian volunteers	-	-	56
Frazer's company	-	-	50
			516

The Provincials and Canadians not being strong enough, General Reidesel added to them 25 chasseurs and 75 other soldiers of the Germans.

January

January 21, 1778.

Private business.

January 22.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke*, pursuant to notice given the preceding day, as soon as the private business was finished, rose and said, Sir, I rise now to fulfil a promise I made to several of my neighbours, before I left the country, which was, to enquire into the state and circumstances of several new levies of troops, which have been lately ordered to be raised. The people of the country have been told, Sir, that the American war is the war of Parliament; they are therefore exceedingly alarmed to hear that a large body of men has been raised during the recess of Parliament, without their knowledge or advice, not the least intimation having been given by the minister of such an intention before the adjournment; on the contrary, the noble Lord told the House he had a conciliatory proposition to make at their next meeting, which he thought would end to the advantage of this country. The noble Lord, instead of a peace, has produced an army, an army raised under the auspices of persons who have never been noted for their loyalty to their sovereign, or their attachment to the constitution. To know into what hands the sword is placed is the grand object of this enquiry.

However necessary it may be to raise troops to continue this ruinous, destructive war, it is incumbent on us to take care that the sword is placed in safe hands; that it is not turned against ourselves; and that these powers which are now employed to destroy the freedom of America, in the end may not endanger our own.

The motion I am now going to make is, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House an account of the number of troops ordered to be raised during the late adjournment of Parliament, specifying the different corps, and the names of the officers appointed to command them, and also the names of all the officers appointed to serve in each rank in the different corps, and the time each officer has served in any other corps in the army, previous to such appointment; and the rank he held.

Lord *Barrington* said, he had no objection to the motion, but thought that the number of troops raised was improper information, and therefore moved to leave out those words, and to say "an account specifying the different corps which

have been ordered to be raised during the late adjournment, &c.

The motion was agreed to.

Lord North.

Lord North observed, he was happy in having it in his power to inform the House, that the purposes for which the adjournment was originally proposed had not only been answered, by the active exertion of the various officers employed in the several departments of his Majesty's service, but that the voluntary unsolicited efforts of several loyal subjects, had also contributed to this effect.—A subscription had lately been set on foot in several parts of the kingdom, that not only intimated the most valid indications of truly patriotic zeal, but also gave a most flattering appearance of the public acquiescence in the conduct of administration. It was no little comfort to persons interested in public employments to observe, that the opinion universally entertained of their management was not influenced by contingencies that human sagacity could not impede, and that it was a pleasure peculiarly grateful to an honest Englishman, that amidst such emergencies, the fortitude of the people should shine particularly conspicuous.

R. Hon. T. Townshend.

Right Honourable T. Townshend asserted the extreme impropriety in the conduct of administration, in making so long a recess, at a time they intended to adopt so important a measure as that of levying and raising, within the kingdom, so considerable a military force as 15,000 men, without the previous consent of Parliament, or indeed any previous communication whatever to that House, of any such intention. He said, if one regiment, raised in so unconstitutional a manner, could be justified, twenty, fifty, or any given number, might in the same manner. What fence or protection were the constitution and the laws against arbitrary power, if all its friends had to do, in order to establish such a mode of government, was to promote subscriptions for raising troops, and when they were raised and embodied, employing them in support of their favourite doctrines? Respecting the purposes, to effect which those troops were to be employed, and the necessity arising from the present state of our colonies, Parliament had no right at all to interfere, or they must have been the best and only judges of both the purposes and the necessity. Why then adjourn Parliament without consulting them? He would grant in argument every thing those most sanguine for the measure might wish to urge in its favour; but still, though the essence of the constitution was lost, it behoved ministers

nisters to at least preserve the forms of it; and not, by adjourning Parliament to a long day, on purpose to exercise its only great constitutional power, that of granting money, incur the actual expenditure, and bind parliamentary faith first, and then call upon that House, as a matter of course, to provide for that expenditure.

Lord *North* rested his defence, first, on the ground of necessity; secondly, on the impracticability of imparting what was not, nor could not be known, to ministers at the time of the adjournment; and thirdly, on their conduct being perfectly constitutional. The necessity, he said, would not be disputed; the very arguments, daily urged by the gentlemen on the other side of the House, proved it beyond a possibility of doubt. The operations of the next campaign, in America, would call for the most vigorous and decided exertions, if our colonies should obstinately persist in refusing to agree to reasonable terms of accommodation. It was not in the power of administration, before the recess, to bring the matter as a measure before Parliament, because, in fact, except in a very few instances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. Offers had been made; but in what instances; other than those already made; or how far they might be received or rejected, could not, at the time Parliament adjourned, be possibly in the contemplation of ministers. As to the last point, on which the honourable gentleman had delivered his sentiments with so much vehemence and acrimony, relative to the contempt thrown upon Parliament, and the breach of the constitution, he begged leave to draw a very different conclusion. The American war was a constitutional war; it was a popular war; and the offers made to the Crown, and accepted of, were perfectly constitutional. The right of the supreme legislature was denied; arms had been taken up by our rebellious subjects in America, in maintenance of this denial; a very loyal part of his Majesty's subjects had expressed their abhorrence of such an unnatural rebellion; and had, in proof of those sentiments, offered their persons and their purses in support of the constitutional rights of this country.

Mr. *Burke* took notice of the zeal of the noble Lord, and the warmth of his bosom for the public weal. He supposed it to be that zeal, warmth and ardour, that had induced him to assist, if not to devise, the raising of men without the knowledge of Parliament, and by that means acting unconstitutionally for the good of his country. He remembered that the noble Lord voted

for an adjournment of Parliament for six weeks, for two several reasons; the one, to give him an opportunity of digesting an equitable plan of conciliation, founded on concession; and the other, to guard him from being shot through and through with the long arrows of militant opposition. It had turned out, he said, however, that another more substantial reason existed for the adjournment of Parliament---not of contriving propositions of peace, but of securing force towards war, in an illegal, unconstitutional and extravagant way.

He observed on the present crisis of Britain, that it was lamentable in the extreme. He said, he had the same day examined the state of our funds, and found that the three per cents consolidated stood at $71\frac{1}{4}$; and he begged leave to contrast that with the state of the same fund in January 1760, the fifth year of a war with the united House of Bourbon, when they were 79. In the latter instance they were 79, when we had funded 23,000,000*l.* and in the first they are 71, when we have funded 5,000,000*l.* He continued to observe on the present mode of raising supplies, that he would consider its propriety in two separate points of view; 1st, whether it was in respect of expence the most oeconomic; and, 2dly, whether it was in respect of strength the most effectual. He considered the first expence of raising a regiment to be about 5000*l.* So much we receive, supposing that the supplies flow from the voluntary gift of the subscribers. They are embodied in separate corps, habited, maintained for the war, discharged, and placed upon the half-pay list, all which, calculating the amount of half-pay at ten years purchase, would cost us 30,000*l.* so that we in reality receive 60,000*l.* as there are 16 regiments offered, to pay 480,000*l.* That this is oconomy worthy the people who contrived it he was well convinced; the offer received was a seeming advantage, but an actual loss; for where there was ever occasion for multiplying the supplies granted by Parliament, it was most oeconomic to raise them in separate corps, while the battalions already raised want more than one half of their war establishments, as it brings a double charge of officers both on full and half pay, which charge constitutes the expence, amounting, as said before, to 30,000*l.* for each 5000*l.* So far as to the oconomy. As to the efficacy, he would only observe, that in our former wars, it was held prudent and expedient to advance the battalions from their peace to their war establishment, which was nearly double, mingling thereby the new with the veteran troops, and adding to the strength

strength of the one the experience of the other. This, he said, was the practice of former times; it was so done last war, and, as we were crowned with conquest, he would not believe that it was wrong, nor would he adopt any other mode in preference to it. He observed, that of all the expedients used by a skilful ministry towards redeeming public credit, none was ever more truly deserving of attention, or more worthy of applause, than the present. A charitable subscription was begun for the relief of the distressed American prisoners, and the ministry nobly caught at the contrivance, envied the small contributions made to relieve the distress themselves had occasioned, and opened the strings and the mouth of a subscription-bag for the treasury. Convinced as they were, that the country would no longer be induced by interest, to hazard their money in subscribing towards loans, secured by government, they applied to their benevolence, and, like a beggar asking a boon, received charitable donations from the pity-disposed people of this country. He said the noble Lord in the blue ribbon reminded him of Pericles, who, exhausted with misfortune, wasted with disease, and lingering with pain, walked abroad, bedecked with amulets, charms, and saws of old women. The loan now unfilled and unpaid, was his disease; and the charitable contributions of his friends were his amulets and charms. He was ready to grant, that voluntary donations might be fairly interpreted, as proofs of a people's affection, but they were no less so of their real poverty. Private and public life exhibited pregnant proofs, that solicitations on one hand, or benevolences on the other, were the common effects of pride, poverty and pity. Persons might be mean from choice, naked from madness; but rags discovered an involuntary madness, or a poverty willing to be concealed. It was true, that France, during the late war, in the midst of her national distresses, was assisted by the people, who delivered their plate for the public service. This was a glorious instance of national patriotism, but it was likewise a proof of national poverty. The mention of the last war must recal to the ideas of every person present, the most disagreeable and humiliating ideas, and fill the House, as well as nation, with regret. He then contrasted the state of this country at present, and the period alluded to, in the most striking point of view; and said, what added a particular aggravation to the nature of our misfortunes was, that every wicked, weak, or blundering measure was sanctioned under the name of the constitution; every thing that was transacted in Parliament, cabinet,

cabinet, or elsewhere, was sheltered under that venerable name. The use this word was lately employed in, brought to his recollection, Dean Swift's application of *Whitshed*, a prostitute Irish crown lawyer's motto on his coach, *libertas & natale solum*, which would be applied by every man according to his own ideas, or as his interests led him. Just so with the noble Lord; the idea annexed to the word *constitution* by him was very different to its true import in a limited monarchy. He might mention it as often as he pleased, and ring the changes upon constitution, constitutional, &c. but he might as well vainly expect that his garter would preserve him from the gout, or his ribbon expel a fever, as to imagine, that to prostitute the word *constitution*, would prevent an investigation into his conduct at some future period.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* said, whatever the noble Lord might think, he by no means approved of the Highlands of Scotland and the towns of Manchester and Liverpool taking the lead. When the nation, about two years since, were as busy in manufacturing addresses, as they are now in promoting subscriptions, he considered it as ominous that Manchester was the first addresser; and he looked upon it equally ominous now, that she was the first subscriber.

He censured the conduct of the Committee at the London tavern very severely, for the advertisements put forth by them, as both illegal and unconstitutional. He was certain that many displayed their names in the list, who were actuated by no such motive. It could not in its nature be voluntary. Men who lay under obligations to government, were compelled to this ostentation of gratitude, and their adherents, in their turn, made a virtue of necessity; so that nothing could be fairly inferred from it concerning the inclinations of the people, or their acquiescence with government. He was not disposed to the invidious task of discriminating in a public catalogue, between the deserving and the undeserving; but he could perceive, from the list of subscribers, that though the sagacity of some might be confided in, their establishing themselves into a Committee, and being thereby in an important national concern, a substitute for Parliament, was an act that they were not qualified to exert.---He therefore was led to propose an amendment in the terms of this subscription, and that for the future, when such proposals should be made, they should be required to say, "for such uses as the Parliament should think fit," and not as a Committee should please to direct.

Colonel

Colonel *Barré* proposed an amendment to the motion, and Col. *Barré* required that the uses for which the different corps had been raised, should be particularly specified.---It was very necessary that Parliament should know the peculiar purposes and destinations of all the different bodies of men that were levied under their sanction. This amendment being complied with, the motion was carried without a division.

Mr. *Fox* observed, that it were happy for the ministry if Mr. *Fox* they could forget the last war, and the bright lustre the British arms had acquired by it: that it were well for their reputation, that the world could lose the recollection of the glorious successes that crowned the enterprizes of Great Britain during that period; to the end that the contrast of the present disgraces might not strike the nation so strongly, and render the contrivers of the measures which occasioned them, the execration of the people.

The minister's views in holding out in such pompous colours the proffered aid of several individuals, were specious and imposing; they wished to impress the people at large with the idea, that their measures were perfectly constitutional, or they should not have met with such general support from the nation.

For his part, he could not be deceived in that particular, as he knew the offers of support came from men of such a description, as would be no credit to administration to be supported by. Scotland and Manchester very readily concurred to strengthen the hands of ministers, who were pursuing measures so conformable to their own sentiments, and to maintain a government so exactly similar to that of their darling, king James II. a government which was pursuing the steps that lost that prince his crown. [Here some gentlemen called him to order, as they conceived that he was drawing a parallel between the present king's reign and that of James; Mr. Fox, however, qualified what he had said, and went on.]

He added, that Scotland and Manchester were so accustomed to disgrace, that it is no wonder if they pocket instances of dishonour, and sit down contented with infamy; but as he knew Britain in general possessed other sentiments, and would not continue in the delusion which had brought disgrace upon her arms, annihilated one army, and dishonoured another, but would investigate the cause of our misfortunes to the fountain-head, from whence the calamities of the war and
of

of this campaign in particular had originated. By this means they might be able to discover the men who had done all this, and who had brought disgrace upon their country as far as lay in their power; although at the same time he owned no ministers had it much in their power to degrade this country, since a change of men wiped off the disgrace. To this end he said, he renewed a motion which he had made before the recess, for having "copies, or extracts of the letters of instructions sent to Generals Howe, Carleton and Burgoyne, tending to any co-operation between the Generals Howe and Burgoyne." He hoped that he would not be understood to take any undue advantage from the absence of a noble Lord [Lord George Germaine] who might be affected by the disclosures called for. He knew the cause of his absence was owing to a family misfortune, at the same time the enquiry called for was necessary, and immediately so.

He then spoke to his intended motion. He said it was impossible, that 10,000 men could be lost, no unforeseen or extraordinary accident happening; if there was not a fault some where, in the plan, the execution, or both. That this fault could be found out only, by an enquiry into the instructions given to General Burgoyne; that therefore as he hoped the gentlemen in administration had given no advice or instructions, which could not bear the test of parliamentary enquiry, as he flattered himself, that the motion he was about to make would not meet their opposition. It were needless to have a Parliament, if it could not call for information, and punish delinquents! He then moved, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House, copies of all instructions and other papers, relative to the expedition from Canada, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; and also copies of such parts of the instructions given to General Sir William Howe, as relate to any intended co-operation with Lieutenant-General Burgoyne."

Col. Luttrell.

Colonel *Luttrell* was not satisfied with the explanation; and the less so, as he said he had heard the honourable gentleman declare, that he would speak treason when he pleased.

Ld. North.

Lord *North* said, that if the honourable gentleman had not spoke treason, he had gone very near it. King James had been dethroned for endeavouring to subvert the laws, overturn the constitution, and reign without a Parliament. The present King, on the contrary, was contending to establish the power of Parliament, and enforce the laws of the country.

It

It was the duty of Parliament to enquire into the conduct of ministers; to turn out such as had acted wrong; and to keep out such as would wish to act wrong. When the names of the subscribers should be made public, it would then appear that they were men who had been always sincerely attached to the Brunswic family; and that though it had been otherwise, it would be ungenerous and impolitic to impute the faults of the parent to the children. As well might himself and the honourable member be called Tories, as the ancestors of both had been of that description of men.

As to the proposed enquiry, he had not the least objection to it; he only found fault with the time of moving for it, when the noble Lord, from a recent loss, and great domestic misfortune, which prevented him from attending the House, and in some degree disqualified him for a defence; he would therefore recommend it to the worthy member to suspend his motion till Tuesday next, on which day he was informed the noble Lord intended to be in his seat in the House.

Mr. Fox rose to explain the imputation of meaning something treasonable by his allusion to the government of King James. This he would maintain, that whosoever attempts to act contrary to the constitution, can be no friend to it; that an attempt to tax 3,000,000 of people, without their own consent, was unconstitutional; and that as King James had been deposed for exercising power not his own, so this country had been deposed from its natural dominion over America for usurping a power denied by the constitution.

As for the motion, he would not have it thought that he wanted to take any mean advantage of the noble Lord's distressed situation; he could not indeed see that his presence was necessary at the time of making the motion; but that if it appeared otherwise to the House, he was willing to withdraw for that evening, and make it on Tuesday next.

Mr. Dunning made a distinction between inquiry and accusation. To submit the instructions of General Burgoyne to the inspection of the House, was not laying an accusation before them against either the projector or the executor of the plan; though it would redound to the honour of the minister for the American department, if the instructions should appear faultless, as he expected the House to believe.

Mr. Rous was of a different opinion. He thought the measure premature, until the arrival of the General; and, though from a particular occasion he had conceived a personal dislike to that officer, yet he should oppose a step which would expose him, however innocent he might be, to the almost inde-

delible impressions arising necessarily from the prejudging his case; for it was universally believed on all sides, that there was a fault somewhere; and, if upon an inspection of the instructions the minister should be declared innocent, it was impossible not to impute criminality to General Burgoyne. The proposition was therefore to the last degree ungenerous.

Mr. Wedderburne.

Mr. *Wedderburne* [the Solicitor-General] argued, that it was unfair to take the matter up so hastily in the absence of Lord Germaine, and more particularly as it would be time enough to agitate it when the noble Lord should arrive, which was to be in so short a time. He declared he spoke no opinion but his own; it was now against the motion; but he was so perfectly free in his determinations, that if on Tuesday any new matter should come out to inform him better, the noble Lord should not be surprised at seeing him divide against him.

Ld. Nugent.

It having been thrown out in the course of the debate, that administration had encouraged news-paper abuse, Lord *Nugent* observed, that such charges had frequently been made from the other side of the House; but he had every reason to believe, they were ill-founded. He had indeed frequently heard insinuations of that nature made by those very gentlemen, who seemed so desirous to state it as a ground of censure against ministers. As to the question before the House, he desired to be governed by no man's opinion but his own. The noble Lord near him [Lord North] seemed willing and ready to lay the instructions now moved for before the House, so might the other noble Lord in whose department those instructions lay; but for his part, he should ever continue to resist any proposition tending to public enquiry into the conduct of an absent man. General Burgoyne was that absent man; he was now at three thousand miles distance, and of course could not be in a situation to answer for himself. The parties were the ministers on one side, and that gentleman on the other; the cause of that fatal miscarriage must light some where. Parliament, upon a full hearing, was to judge. How then was it possible to determine till the parties were all present; that could not be till General Burgoyne returned; consequently all investigation and enquiry must be premature till the arrival of that event. He was the more confirmed in that opinion, by what had appeared in print, by authority; he meant Mr. Burgoyne's letter, in which he seemed to be restricted by his orders. This matter was variously talked of, and various judgments had been already passed upon the contents.

tents. This was still a stronger reason with him to abstain from acceding to any motion, which, from these circumstances, must almost inevitably lead to a partial judgment. To corroborate what he said, his Lordship informed the House, that at a very early period of his acquaintance with Parliament, a disaster had happened to the British arms, a motion was at that time made extremely similar to the present; it was made by the late Mr. Fox [afterwards Lord Holland] but the parties being absent [Lestocke and Matthews] the present Lord Chatham [then Mr. Pitt] made a motion to postpone the enquiry, till those gentlemen were on the spot to answer for themselves. And as he wished to do now, so he did then; he seconded the motion of the noble Lord who wished to defer the enquiry, till every person concerned should be in a situation to answer for himself.

Colonel *Barré* treated the noble Lord's general professions of candour and impartiality with a kind of ludicrous approbation. He supposed when the noble Lord talked of thinking for himself, he meant no more than to say, that he adopted higher opinions than those of the minister; he should not be therefore surprised if he differed from the minister, and yet when the question came to be finally determined, he should vote in a majority; he was certain that if the noble Lord's judgment was formed upon that high authority he suspected it was, should the minister be so hardy as to differ from him, he would most certainly find himself out-numbered. As to the learned gentleman, who so earnestly affirmed, that he meant to follow no man's opinion but his own, he was willing to believe, that he stood in the same predicament as the last mentioned noble Lord; by speaking no opinions but their own, they plainly gave the minister to understand, that whenever he acted from his own judgment, or showed the least disposition to inform the House on matters necessary to be known, that he was no longer to be supported; but must give way to that over-ruling influence which governed every thing, within and without Parliament. He felt therefore for the situation of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon; and whenever the question should come to receive a negative, he advised his Lordship not to undergo the painful mortification of being rendered a cypher, while he apparently held the rank of first minister; but prudently taking the hint from the noble Lord who last spoke, and the learned gentleman [Mr. Wedderburne] who spoke before, make his retreat in time, and, as usual, vote in a decided majority.

Mr. *Burke*.

Mr. *Burke* assured the noble Lord, who spoke last but one, that if he meant to point at him, as one of the persons who had hinted any measure against Lord and General Howe, he was exceedingly mistaken. He was perfectly satisfied that they were able men; he was sure still, that they were deserving of a higher character, for he was persuaded they were good men. He presumed, that something which had fallen from him in a former debate might have given grounds for the present loose charge. If that was the case, what he said then he was now willing to repeat, which was, that persons intrusted with the commission of the first magnitude, which commission was attended not only with a very high salary, but with patronage and other very great advantages, ought to have some controul, which might direct them to a speedy execution of the special purposes of their commission; when he said this, he meant it only as a general proposition, not applicable to the men but to the nature of their trust; it was a good rule in policy, so it was in the most ordinary occurrences of human life, never to put a man into a situation where duty was to be performed, the personal advantages of which situation might tempt him to look to the latter in preference to the former.

Gov. *Johnstone*.

Governor *Johnstone* said, that he was much surprised at the uncommon ingenuity of the noble Lord, who could readily shift the odium so justly charged on administration, for encouraging the libels daily circulated on our commanders naval and military in America, upon the gentlemen on his side of the House, when it was notoriously known, that from the very first commencement of the war to the present minute, every plan that failed, which was in fact every plan adopted, was indirectly charged to the inability, neglect, &c. of those entrusted with the execution. He acknowledged, that he did say, and was free to declare at all times, that no man should have it in his power, be his character ever so high, to prolong a war, in the prolongation of which he might not have an eventual, but must have a certain interest. When he said this, he solemnly protested he meant no particular application. He was sorry to say, that the conduct of those who professed themselves the friends of government, was very different; they made applications of these general propositions to particulars. The tardy progress of the army under Sir William Howe, according as occasions served, they attributed at one time to inactivity, at another to wilful delay in the commander, on a supposition of his being too fond of the emoluments of his situation, to put it to an end. He had not the honour
of

of being personally acquainted with Sir William Howe; but if he knew a man upon earth more above all mankind than the rest of his species, it was Lord Howe. He never knew any man, in any situation, who, it was more improbable, would be tempted from a strict and rigid discharge of his duty, than the noble Lord alluded to, by any thing, which, in the common acceptation of mankind, may be supposed to seduce persons in such situations from a faithful discharge of their duty.

Lord *Nugent* disclaimed any guidance, either personal or ministerial, but what his own judgment led him to; he was as ready to resist the influence hinted at by the honourable gentleman, if any such influence really existed, as to oppose the minister if he thought him in the wrong. He was a free man, and would remain so; he was an honest man, and had from his earliest acquaintance with Parliament, acted according to principle. The emoluments of his office had not sufficient temptation to bias his judgment; they were at all times with him a matter of paltry consideration; his fortune was ample, his expectations none at all, and his intentions clearly directed to the promoting the interest of his country.

Mr. *Thurloe* [Attorney-General] closed the debate; he said, the merits were not before the House; that the motion had, for upwards of an hour and a half, been withdrawn by common consent.

List of the Corps which have been ordered to be raised during the late Adjournment of the House of Commons, with the Names of the Officers appointed to command those Corps.

<i>Corps.</i>	<i>Commandants,</i>
Royal Manchester regiment of foot	Colonel Mawhood
A Highland regiment of foot	Colonel William Gordon
Ditto	Colonel John M'Kenzie
Ditto	Lieut. Col. John Campbell
Ditto	Colonel James Murray
Ditto	Lieut. Col. John M'Donald
A battalion of foot in North- Britain	Colonel Francis M'Lean
A Highland regiment of foot	Lieut. Col. Earl of Seaforth
	Royal

Royal Liverpool blues	Major-General Calcraft
Royal Edinburgh volunteers	Colonel Sir William Erskine
Royal Glasgow volunteers	Colonel Alexander Leslie
	{ Captain Hugh Lord
	{ Captain Rowland Edwards
	{ Captain Alexander Campbell
Nine Independent Compa-	{ Captain George Adams
nies in Wales	{ Captain Thomas Lloyd
	{ Capt. Lord Visc. Fielding
	{ Captain George Vaughan
	{ Captain John Edwards
	{ Captain Lord Herbert.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Sir Thomas Egerton Baronet, dated 16th December, 1777.

S I R,

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of the very handsome offer made by the town of Manchester, through you, for raising a regiment of foot at their own expence, the regiment to consist of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light infantry; the battalion companies to consist each of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, serjeants, corporals, two drummers and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, serjeants, corporals, two drummers, two fifiers and 100 men; the light infantry company of one captain, three lieutenants, serjeants, corporals, two drummers and 100 private, with the usual staff-officers; the regiment to have one colonel-commandant, one lieutenant-colonel and one major, each having also a company.

The non-commissioned officers and private men are to receive pay from the days of their respective attestations.

No more than three guineas bounty-money will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required, that the regiment shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof. I have represented to his Majesty, that commissions are not desired for the officers until the regiment shall be so reviewed and approved, except for
Captain

Captain Norsfall of the 23d, and Roger Aytoun, Esq; late of the 11th dragoons, the intended major and eldest captain.

The list of the other gentlemen recommended through you for commissions has been laid before the King, and honoured with his royal approbation, and they may be assured that they shall have commissions as soon as ever the regiment is raised and approved.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the officers will be intitled to half-pay; in case the regiment shall be reduced after it has been once established.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, dated 19th December, 1777.

[Like Letter of same Date to John M'Kenzie, Esq.]

[Like Letter, dated 25th December, 1777, to Colonel James Murray.]

[Like Letter, dated 3d January, 1778, to Col. Francis M'Lean.]

SIR,

War-Office, 19th December, 1777.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of your proposal for raising a regiment of foot in the Highlands of Scotland, to consist of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light-infantry; the battalion companies to consist each of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, two pipers and 100 private men; the light-infantry company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, and 100 private, with the usual staff-officers. The regiment to have the field-officers under mentioned, viz. one lieutenant-colonel, and one major, each also having a company, one major without a company, receiving an allowance of 10s. *per diem* in lieu thereof, and 5s. *per diem* as major; but in case of the death or promotion of the additional major, the pay of such major is to cease upon the establishment.

The

The regiment to be under your command as colonel-commandant, with the command of a company.

I am to inform you, that levy-money will be allowed you at the rate of 3*l.* *per* man for 1082 men; and that his Majesty has been pleased to direct that the pay of the regiment shall take place from the date of your beating order, and shall be allowed you in aid of recruiting, on condition that you do render an exact account of the said levy-money and pay that shall be issued to you, charging against it five guineas for each man reviewed and approved, together with the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men, from the day of their respective attestations; and if there should be any balance remaining, it is to be considered as a saving to the public, to be hereafter disposed of as shall be thought proper.

No more than three guineas will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years or above thirty.

It is required that the regiment shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

I have represented to his Majesty, that you humbly hope you shall be indulged in recommending the officers, being such as are well affected to his Majesty, and most likely by their interest and connections to assist in raising the corps without delay; but that you do not desire any commissions for them until the regiment shall have been raised and approved.

You will therefore be pleased to send to me, for his Majesty's consideration, a list of such persons as you propose for officers, who, if they meet with his royal approbation, may be assured that they shall have commissions as soon as ever the regiment is compleated; and I am to acquaint you, it is his Majesty's intention, that the companies which shall be first raised shall entitle their captains and subalterns to seniority in the regiment according to their respective ranks, and the different periods at which the said companies shall be compleated.

I am to inform you, that in case the persons approved by the King for the rank of majors should be of less than five years standing in the army as captains, they are to pay 300*l.* each for their commissions, which sums are to be carried in aid of the charge brought on the public for levy-money, and credited to the general account.

I am

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the regiment shall be reduced, after it has been once established.

I have the King's command to add, that, as orders are given for several other Highland corps, it is his Majesty's intention, that their seniority in the army shall be determined by the periods at which they shall be respectively compleated,

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON,

Copp of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, dated 19th December, 1777.

[Like Letter dated the 25th December, 1777, to Lieutenant-Colonel John M'Donald.]

S I R,

War-Office, 19th December, 1777.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of your proposal for raising a regiment of foot in the Highlands of Scotland, to consist of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light-infantry; the battalion companies to consist each of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, two pipers and 100 private men; the light-infantry company of one captain, 3 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, and 100 private, with the usual staff-officers. The regiment to have two majors, each having also a company, and to be under your command as lieutenant-colonel commandant, with the command of a company.

I am to inform you, that levy-money will be issued to you at the rate of 3l. per man for 1082 men, and that his Majesty has been pleased to direct that the pay of the regiment shall take place from the date of your beating-order, and shall be allowed you in aid of recruiting, on condition that you do render an exact account of the said levy-money and pay that shall be issued to you, charging against it five guineas for each man reviewed and approved, together with the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men from the day of their respective attestations; and if there should be any balance remaining, it is to be considered as a saving to the public to be hereafter disposed of as shall be thought proper.

No more than three guineas will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required, that the regiment shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

I have represented to his Majesty, that you humbly hope you shall be indulged in recommending the officers, being such as are well affected to his Majesty, and most likely, by their interest and connections, to assist in raising the corps without delay; but that you do not desire any commissions for them until the regiment shall have been raised and approved.

You will be pleased therefore to send to me, for his Majesty's consideration, a list of such persons as you propose for officers, who, if they meet with his royal approbation, may be assured that they shall have commissions as soon as ever the regiment is compleated; and I am to acquaint you, it is his Majesty's intention, that the companies which shall be first raised shall intitle their captains and subalterns to seniority in the regiment according to their respective ranks, and the different periods at which the said companies shall be compleated.

I am to inform you, that in case the persons approved by the King for the rank of major should be of less than five years standing in the army as captains, they are to pay 300*l.* each for their commissions, which sums are to be carried in aid of the charge brought on the public for levy-money, and credited to the general account.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the regiment shall be reduced, after it has been once established.

I have the King's command to add, that as orders are given for several other Highland corps, it is his Majesty's intention that their seniority in the army shall be determined by the periods at which they shall be respectively compleated.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Colonel Sir William Erskine, dated 17th January, 1778.

[Like Letter of the same Date to the Honourable Colonel Alexander Leslie for the Glasgow Volunteers.]

S I R,

War-Office, 17th January, 1778.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of the very handsome proposal made by the gentlemen of Edinburgh, for raising a regiment of foot at their own expence; the regiment to consist of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light-infantry; the battalion companies to consist each of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, two fifiers and 100 private men; the light-infantry company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private, with the usual staff-officers. The regiment to have the following field-officers, viz. one lieutenant-colonel and one major, each having also a company, and one major without a company, receiving an allowance of 10s. *per diem* in lieu thereof, and 5s. *per diem* as major, but in case of the death or promotion of the additional major, the pay of such major is to cease upon the establishment; the regiment to be under your command as colonel-commandant, with the command of a company.

The non-commissioned officers and private men are to receive pay from the days of their respective attestations.

No more than three guineas bounty-money will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required that the regiment shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the regiment shall be reduced after it has been once established.

I am to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person who shall enlist as

a foldier in any of his Majesty's marching regiments of foot fhall be intitled to his difcharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to the Earl of Seaforth, dated 8th January, 1778.

MY LORD,

War-Office, 8th January, 1778.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty approves of your propofal for raifing a regiment of foot in the Highlands of Scotland, to confift of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light-infantry; the battalion companies to confift each of one captain, two lieutenants, one enſign, five ſerjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, five ſerjeants, five corporals, two drummers, two pipers and 100 private men; the light-infantry company of one captain, three lieutenants, five ſerjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private, with the uſual ſtaff-officers. The regiment to have one lieutenant-colonel commandant, and two majors, each having alſo the command of a company.

I am to inform you, that levy-money will be iſſued to you at the rate of 3l. per man for 1082 men, and that his Majesty has been pleaſed to direct, that the pay of the regiment fhall take place from the date of your beating order, and fhall be allowed you in aid of recruiting, on condition that you do render an exact account of the ſaid levy-money and pay that fhall be iſſued to you, charging againſt it five guineas for each man reviewed and approved, together with the ſubſiſtence of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men from the day of their reſpective attellations; and if there ſhould be any balance remaining, it is to be conſidered as a ſaving to the public, to be hereafter diſpoſed of as fhall be thought proper.

No more than three guineas will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enliſted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years or above thirty.

It is required, that the regiment fhall be actually raifed and approved

approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

Having laid before the King your Lordship's representation, that your having the command of this corps will considerably accelerate the raising and compleating it, and that desirous of shewing your attachment to the cause by personal service, your Lordship hopes his Majesty will not object to your being lieutenant-colonel commandant, on condition that you do renounce all claim of future rank or promotion in the army, and in case of a reduction that you do not desire half-pay, or any other emoluments whatever, I am to acquaint you, his Majesty is pleased, on these conditions, to approve of your Lordship as lieutenant-colonel commandant, with the command of a company.

His Majesty reserves to himself the nomination of the two majors, but leaves to your Lordship *the recommendation of the other officers, being such as are well affected to his Majesty*, and most likely by their interest and connections to assist in raising the corps without delay, who, if they meet with his royal approbation, may be assured that they shall have commissions as soon as ever the regiment is compleated.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint your Lordship, the officers will be intitled to half-pay in case the regiment shall be reduced, after it has been once established.

His Majesty consents, that on a reduction the corps shall be disbanded in Ross-shire.

I am to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person who shall enlist as a soldier in any of his marching regiments of foot shall be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to the Mayor of Liverpool, dated 8th January, 1778.

S I R,

War-Office, 8th January, 1778.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of the very handsome proposal made by the gentlemen of Liverpool, through their committee, for raising
a regiment

a regiment of foot at their own expence; the regiment to consist of eight battalion companies, one company of grenadiers, and one of light infantry; the battalion companies to consist each of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men; the grenadier company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers, two fifiers and 100 private men; the light-infantry company of one captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private, with the usual staff-officers. The regiment to have one colonel-commandant, one lieutenant-colonel and one major, each having also a company.

The non-commissioned officers and private men are to receive pay from the days of their respective attestations.

No more than three guineas bounty-money will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required, that the regiment shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof. I have represented to his Majesty, that commissions are not desired for the officers until the regiment shall be reviewed and approved.

The list of the gentlemen recommended through the committee for commissions has been laid before the King, and honoured with his royal approbation, and they may be assured that they shall have commissions, as soon as ever the regiment is raised and approved.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the regiment shall be reduced, after it has been once established.

I am to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person who shall enlist as a soldier in any of his Majesty's marching regiments of foot shall be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Hugh Lord, Esq; late Captain in the Royal Irish Regiment of Foot, dated 14th January, 1778.

[*Like Letters to Captains Rowland Edwards, Alexander Campbell, George Adams, Thomas Lloyd, Lord Viscount Fielding, John Edwards and Lord Herbert.*]

S I R,

War-Office, 14th January, 1778.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of your proposal for raising a company of foot in Wales, to consist of two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men, and to be under your command as captain.

I am to inform you, that levy-money will be issued to you at the rate of 3l. *per* man for 108 men, and that his Majesty has been pleased to direct that the pay of the company shall take place from the date of your beating order, and shall be allowed you in aid of recruiting, on condition that you do render an exact account of the said levy-money and pay that shall be issued to you, charging against it five guineas *per* each man reviewed and approved, together with the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men, from the days of their respective attestations, and if there should be any balance remaining, it is to be considered as a saving to the public, to be hereafter disposed of as shall be thought proper.

No more than three guineas will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required, that the company shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

I have represented to his Majesty, that you humbly hope that you shall be indulged in recommending the officers, being such as are well affected to his Majesty, and most likely by their interest and connections to assist in raising the corps without delay, but that you do not desire any commissions for them, until the company shall have been raised and approved.

You

You will be pleased therefore to send to me, for his Majesty's information, a list of such persons as you propose for officers, who, if they meet with his roval approbation, may be assured that they shall have commissions as soon as ever the company is compleated.

To prevent all possibility of misfunderstanding in a material point, I must acquaint you, that none of the officers, who shall be preferred in the new levies now raising, will be allowed to sell their present commissions.

I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the company shall be reduced after it has been established.

I am to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that, from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person, who shall enlist as a soldier in any marching regiment or company of foot, shall be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

I am, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON,

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Lieutenant George Vaughan on the Half-Pay of the late 75th Regiment of Foot, dated 16th January, 1778.

SIR,

War-Office, 16th January, 1778.

I AM commanded by the King to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of your proposal for raising a company of foot in Wales to consist of two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drummers and 100 private men, and to be under your command as captain.

No levy-money is to be allowed you, but his Majesty has been pleased to direct, that the pay of the company shall take place from the date of your beating-order, on condition that you do render an exact account of the said pay that shall be issued to you, charging against it the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men from the day of their respective attestations, and if there should be any balance remaining, it is to be considered as a saving to the public, to be hereafter disposed of as shall be thought proper.

No more than three guineas will be allowed to be given to each recruit.

None

None are to be enlisted under five feet four inches, nor under eighteen years, or above thirty.

It is required, that the company shall be actually raised and approved (after being reviewed by a general officer) within four months from the date hereof.

I have represented to his Majesty, that you humbly hope you shall be indulged in recommending the officers, being such as are well affected to his Majesty, and most likely by their interest and connections to assist in raising the corps without delay, but that you do not desire any commissions for them until the company shall have been raised and approved.

You will therefore be pleased to send to me, for his Majesty's information, a list of such persons as you propose for officers, who, if they meet with his royal approbation, may be assured that they shall have commissions, as soon as ever the company is compleated.

To prevent all possibility of misunderstanding in a material point, I must acquaint you, that none of the officers who shall be preferred in the new levies now raising will be allowed to sell their present commissions.

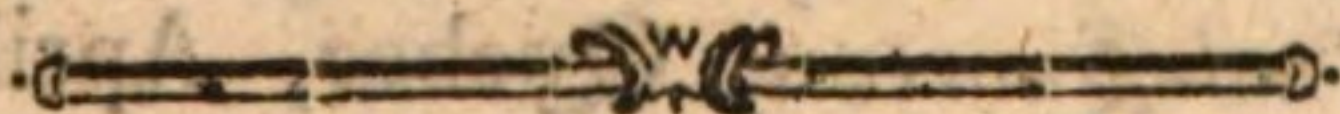
I am likewise authorised by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the officers will be intitled to half-pay, in case the company shall be reduced after it has been once established.

I am to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person who shall enlist as a soldier in any marching regiment or company of foot, shall be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

I am, Sir, &c.

BARRINGTON.

Adjourned to January 26.



* *Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, May 20, 1777.*

[Received the 2d of July.]

LIEUTENANT General Burgoyne shall have every assistance in my power, and my most ardent wishes for the

* These papers relating to the Canada Expedition were not laid before the House till some time after the former.

prosperity of the King's arms. The troops and armament destined for his expedition, had immediate orders to receive and follow his directions, that he may combine their movements as he thinks proper; the same so far as concerns Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger's expedition, the Hanau chasseurs excepted. I have no such corps in this army, nor any information concerning it in your dispatch, but it is set down as part of the corps I am to put under his command. At first I thought it might be a mistake, and that the Brunswic chasseurs were meant, Lieutenant General Burgoyne says not; that these are to go with him, and that he thinks the Hanau chasseurs are on their way hither.

All the Indians in the neighbourhood of Niagara and Lake Ontario have orders to join Colonel St. Leger; those in the lower part of the province, and those ordered last year from Michilimakinac are to attend Lieutenant General Burgoyne. Three hundred Canadian militia are also to make the campaign, to be disposed of by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, which Canadians, with those necessary for scouring the woods towards the New England provinces, and a great number which must be employed for the forwarding all things for those two expeditions, is, I think, in the first dawning of good order and obedience, as much as ought, in prudence, to be demanded from this unfortunate province.

The marine has been greatly improved and augmented, which the impatience of the last year's service would not permit. Those on Lake Champlain have been put under Lieutenant General Burgoyne's command, and the greatest part of those on Lake Ontario will attend Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Major General Phillips, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, April 8th, 1777.

SIR,

MY dispatches from the secretary of state inform me, that it is his Majesty's pleasure I should remain in Canada; and that I should detach Lieutenant General Burgoyne with a certain part of the army, which is as particularly detailed, that nothing is left to me but the seeing those commands put into execution; and, in case of the death or illness of General Burgoyne, the naming of his successor. As it is my intention to provide every thing for this detachment with the

same care and attention to the good of the service, as if I were to command it myself, I shall propose that you accompany General Burgoyne, and doubt not he will be happy in the thoughts of having such able assistance, while I can only express my sorrow at not having it in my power to testify to you, by a greater mark, the high sense I entertain of the zeal and activity with which you have constantly executed the orders, which occasions have required my giving you, as well as of the obligations I am under to you for the great trouble, which you have so chearfully taken upon you, in the management of our public works, which by your diligence, I have the satisfaction of finding in such forwardness, as that the expedition under General Burgoyne will be able to proceed without delay.

Another detachment is in like manner ordered to be made under Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger.

I want as soon as possible, for the information of General Burgoyne, as exact an account as can be had of the batteaus, of what are ready, what will be ready, and when.

I have received your dispatches of the 5th instant.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. C.

P. S. I must likewise beg leave to know, how far the orders given some time ago, with respect to transporting provisions to St. John's and Oswegatchie have been carried into execution; and, I trust, you will press the commissary upon this point as much as possible.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Major General Phillips, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 12, 1777.

SIR,

I RECEIVE your letters of the 9th and 10th instant.

You will have learned from my last letter, that General Burgoyne is to take the command of the troops that are to go out of the province, and you will see by the enclosed orders, that I put them immediately under him; but though I have nothing further to do with them, I shall nevertheless go up to Montreal, in order to be at hand to give every assistance in my power towards forwarding the King's service in this particular. I am, Sir, &c.

G. C.

Copy

Copy of Orders for the Troops to serve under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 10, 1777.

Parole St. Benedict and Jamaska.

THE King having thought proper to order, that a detachment from the army, under my command, be sent upon an expedition under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and that this detachment be composed of the grenadiers, light infantry and 24th regiment, together with the 9th, 20th, 21st, 47th, 53d, and 62d regiments (except detachments of fifty men from each of the six last-mentioned regiments) and all the German troops, except a detachment of 650: these corps will accordingly hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice; orders, for which, will be given them by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to whom, in the mean time, they will make all reports, as well as the commander in chief.

The detachments of fifty men, with a captain, two subalterns, and non-commissioned officers in proportion, from each of the six regiments, as above, will assemble at the present head-quarters of their respective regiments, and there remain till further orders.

The artillery and the departments of the quarter-master general, hospital, and commissariat, will likewise supply Lieutenant General Burgoyne with such returns as he may call for, to enable him to lay before the commander in chief, the portions of these several articles they are capable of furnishing.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Foy to Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 12, 1777.

SIR,

THE King having been pleased to signify his pleasure through the secretary of state, that a detachment from this army, to consist of 100 men from the 8th regiment, 100 men from the 34th regiment, Sir John Johnson's corps, and the Hanau chasseurs, be sent under your command upon an expedition, concerning which you will receive further instructions;

A. 1778.

D E B A T E S.

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tions; I am to acquaint you that the commander in chief directs you to order 100 men accordingly, and officers in proportion, of the 34th regiment, to hold themselves in immediate readiness for this service; orders to the same effect are immediately to be dispatched to the 8th regiment and Sir John Johnson's corps, as will be to the chasseurs when they arrive, and the whole are to obey such further orders as you shall give them.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

E. Foy.

Translation of a Circular Letter to the Colonels of Militia, and Commissaries of Canadian transports.

Head-Quarters at Quebec, May 12, 1777.

S I R,

THE King having commanded that a detachment of the army in Canada be employed upon an expedition, under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, I am ordered to signify to you the pleasure of the commander in chief, that you obey all the requisitions that shall be made you on the part of the said Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, whether as a corvée or any other service depending on your department, communicating nevertheless to his excellency all that may regard in particular the militia.

I am, &c.

E. Foy.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Foy to Captain Fraser, Assistant-Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, the 13th of May, 1777.

S I R,

I HAVE it in command to signify the General's pleasure to you, that you wait upon General Burgoyne as soon as you are able after the receipt of this, in order to receive his commands, relative to the assembling the Indians, and such other directions as he shall think proper to give you in regard of that department.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

E. Foy.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated Quebec, May 19th, 1777.

S I R,

I INCLOSE letters for the commanding officer of the 8th regiment, Colonel Butler, superintendant of Indian affairs, the officers at the posts of Oswegatchie and Michilimackinac; the three first contain full orders and directions for preparing the detachment for Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, assembling the Indians which are to join him, and for giving him every assistance which these officers have it in their power to afford. But as I refer Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton and Colonel Butler to Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger for fixing the rendezvous both of the detachment of the 8th and the savages, it will be proper that he should communicate his sentiments upon that subject to them; I will only offer it as my opinion that Cataraqui is the properest place for that purpose.

Captain Tise and John being gone up to Montreal will carry these letters, and receive any instruction you shall be pleased to give them.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

G. C.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 18th, 1777.

S I R,

IT being the King's pleasure that I put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, to be employed upon an expedition,

A detachment from the 8th regiment - 100 men;

A detachment from the 34th - the same;

Sir John Johnson's regiment of New-York, and a corp of Hanau chaffeurs.

You will accordingly direct, that 100 men with officers in proportion to the strength of the regiment, hold themselves in immediate readiness to march, and to obey all orders they shall receive from Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger.

The King having further signified his pleasure, that a sufficient number of Indians be joined to this detachment, you will

will therefore employ every means in your power to assemble as many Indians as you can communicate with, and prevail upon them to put themselves with proper leaders, who will be appointed by Colonel Butler, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, and to exert their utmost efforts under his direction, in the service of their King and father.

You will consult with Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger in regard of the rendezvous, both of the troops and savages, and give every assistance in your power to promote the service upon which he is employed.

I am Sir, &c. &c.

G. C.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to the Officer commanding at Oswegatchie, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 18, 1777.

S I R,

LIEUTENANT-Colonel St. Leger with a detachment under his command, being to pass by your post, I desire you will give him every possible assistance, and any armed vessel he shall require is to follow his directions.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

G. C.

Copy of Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Colonel Butler, dated Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 18, 1777.

S I R,

THE King having thought proper that a detachment from this army, together with a sufficient number of Indians, should be employed upon an expedition under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger; I am therefore to request, that you will exert the zeal which has ever distinguished your conduct, by now using every means in your power to collect as large a body as possible of the Indians of the Six Nations, and any others you can communicate with; and to dispose them to act with all their vigour in concert with his Majesty's troops, and under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger. The providing and appointing of proper leaders (who will have the usual allowance) to this body of Indians is left to your care and judgment; and

I hope

I hope your health will permit you to accompany this expedition, as I know no person so capable of the conducting and management of the Indians.

I should be glad you would transmit me a list of the officers you think proper to nominate, and acquaint me what pay they should be allowed, and whether any of them should have rank and what; likewise what rank and pay you think yourself intitled to.

As for the provincials that have come in Sir John Johnson's regiment, being to go upon this expedition, I think they should join that corps, at least as many as will compleat.

Colonel Butler, Superintendant of
Indian Affairs. Niagara.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Foy to Captain Mackay, dated
Head-Quarters, Quebec, May 19, 1777.*

S I R,

I AM commanded to acquaint you, that the companies of Monin and Boucheville are ordered to march with all possible expedition to Montreal, there to receive further orders from you, who are to follow such directions and commands respecting the three Canadian companies as shall be given you by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

Mr. Honore Genier is appointed adjutant to the three companies of Canadians.

I am, Sir, &c.

E. Foy.

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Sir
Guy Carleton, dated Montreal, May 26, 1777.*

AS I judge, by the letters your Excellency has honoured me with, that the time of your setting out for Montreal is yet uncertain, I take leave to submit to your Excellency by express, such circumstances of the public service as require decision, and further powers to carry them into execution than those I am invested with.

I have to propose to your Excellency a corvée of a thousand men, to attend the expedition for a limited time, for the purposes of labour and transport; the troops will be sav-

ed

ed thereby from the harraffing duties, which at the outset of a campaign, your Excellency well knows, are productive of disease, and the ranks will be properly full for their service in arms.

It also appears to me, that seven or eight hundred horses may become indispenfibly necessary for my progress, and I have good assurances that the transport of them to Crown-Point by land is very practicable; so large a number may not be requisite for operations against Ticonderoga, but I submit to you, Sir, the expediency of having the arrangements so prepared that they may be ready upon a short call. It is with great deference to your Excellency's knowledge of the country, that I mention any particular mode of furnishing these supplies; but I conceive there would be no difficulty of obtaining the horses, if your Excellency thought proper to stipulate a reasonable price for the hire per week, with one man to two horses for the care and driving of them, and the expence to government would be much more moderate than purchasing them outright. I have the same confidence that the *corvée* of working men, above proposed, would be palatable to the country, if you thought proper to issue a proclamation limiting the time of their service; and wherever I might be at the expiration of the term, I should hold myself indispenfibly bound to fulfil your intentions therein.

I inclose to your Excellency lists of the staff, &c. as proposed by the officers at the head of the several departments, and upon all those subjects, I request your orders as soon as may be. Colonel Carleton writes to you himself, and it is with great satisfaction I learn, his inclination to give me his assistance, if the arrangement meets with your approbation. My great opinion of the talents of Captain Foy, confirmed by your Excellency's choice, induced me to mention him as an officer most desirable to me; but I do not mean to press any appointment that may interfere with your inclinations, convenience or designs, respecting that gentleman.

In regard to the preparations I have made for proceeding, your Excellency will find that none have been retarded for want of the above points being decided: a *corvée* has been employed to repair the roads necessary for land carriage; and the flour, which was the only short article of provision at St. John's, thrown up from Chamblée. The caulking of batteaux and other remaining work in the docks, has been

pressed by M. G. Philips with his usual assiduity. The troops are contracted in their quarters and have received their camp equipage. The Indians within Captain Frazer's superintendency, have received their call, and wish only the nomination of their rendezvous. The state of the ground for encamping at different stations upon the Lake, has been examined and found sufficient, tho' there never was so much water known at this season. I propose to see General Frazer's brigade assembled to-morrow, and to move them forward on Thursday. The rest of the troops will follow in regular progression. I thought myself justified by the full power your Excellency entrusted me with, in the liberty to remove the 31st regiment from their old quarters to St Therese, that the passage to Chamblée might thereby be left free for the German troops and the 62d regiment, and that in the interim the transport from Chamblée to St. John's might be assisted and enforced by a corps at St Therese.

Upon the whole, Sir, I see no impediment to all my force being very near the point of their embarkation by the end of this week; and I request your Excellency's final orders for the time when St. John's and the Isle aux Noix may be occupied by the troops you may think proper to post there.

I shall think it my duty to attend your arrival at Montreal, and have the honour to be,

&c. &c.

Montreal, May 26, 1777.

PROPOSED disposition of the hospital for the service of Canada, with his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, commander in chief.

1 Physician.

1 Surgeon.

1 Apothecary.

8 Mates, two of whom are sick.

The hospital for General Burgoyne's expedition, from which a flying hospital is to be taken, and the residue to hold ready to move as occasion may require.

1 Physician.

2 Surgeons.

2 Apothecaries.

14 Mates.

300 Sets

300 Sets of bedding with stores in proportion, for the flying hospital.

300 Sets with stores ready to follow, for the service under Colonel St. Leger.

Mr. Blockman, first mate.

Mr. Salmon, Supernumerary, ditto.

N. B. Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger much wishes the surgeon of the 34th regiment to go with his detachment, and it is submitted to his Excellency that he may be added to the hospital for that occasion.

ROBERT KNOX,

Preceptor of hospital in Canada.

Staff proposed for the Expedition under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and submitted for the decision of his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

LIEUTENANT-General Burgoyne, Major-Generals Philips and Reidesel, Brigadier-Generals Frazer, Powel, Hamilton, Specht, and Brigadier-Majors Freeman, Muir, Kirkman, Clewe, and

Quarter-Master-General Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton.

Deputy, Captain Money.

Affistants, { Any two of the four now on the list that Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton shall appoint.

{ Cornet Grant to join his regiment.

Deputy Adjutant-General, Captain Foy.

Chaplain to the staff, Mr. Brudenell.

Commissary's department as per list already submitted.

Hospital as per ditto.

Affistant Pay-master, Mr. Gaddis.

Provost Marshal.

Artillery.

Engineers.

All the civil list of the naval department under the acting commissioners Lieutenant Shantres, and Comptroller Lieutenant Twiss.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated 25th May, 1777.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

YOU having done me the honour to intimate to me, that it was the Commander in Chief's pleasure, that I should be consulted concerning a proper place of rendezvous for the detachment of the eighth regiment, and the Indians destined for the expedition under my command, I take the liberty to lay before you the difficulty I am under to determine a point of such consequence, and beg leave to submit to you (the proper channel to the Commander in Chief) whether the better to enable me to make the necessary arrangements with precision, and without the least chance of confusion or misunderstanding, it would not be proper to communicate to me the different nations that are to be employed, and the magazines they are to be supplied from, till a junction is effected with them, because, from some questions I have put to the Commissary-General, he seems to be at a loss to decide upon this very material point, having peremptorily affirmed, that Niagara could not supply a proper quantity, and moreover said, not having it in command from proper authority to correspond with me, he did not think himself at liberty to answer my question, or to give into my desires; you will therefore do me the honour to communicate to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, that he may be pleased to send me and others concerned in the various arrangements of this detachment such orders, that no delay may be given to the fulfilling of his intention.

I have the honour to be,

DEAR GENERAL,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

BARRY ST. LEGER.

P. S. The Commander in Chief having been pleased to tell me, that I should be assisted by a proportionate staff, I request his permission to nominate that part of it that will be most immediately concerned in contributing to the success of the expedition, to the Deputy-Adjutant General's department, Captain Ancram of the 34th, who goes as a captain of that regiment's detachment, Lieutenant Lundy of Mac-
Lean's

Lean's corps to that of the Quarter-Master, Lieutenant Crofts, who is likewise one of the officers named for the detachment of the 34th as Major of Brigade; I wish much for Mr. Blake, surgeon of the 34th, to go as hospital-surgeon, assisted as his Excellency may think proper; I esteem Mr. Farquharson, on account of the very great activity of his mind and person, as the fittest commissary for a flying camp. An inspector of batteaus will be necessary; such a person is at this moment at Montreal, having fled from the Mohawk river to avoid persecution; he formerly served under General Bradstreet in the same capacity; his name is Kifick; this man I beg leave to submit to his Excellency's consideration. The waggon-master's department has been already well filled by the General at Quebec; as for any other assistances that may be thought necessary, I have no choice.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated Quebec, 29th May, 1777.

IN the present situation of the province, having a vast number of men employed in the fur-trade and fisheries, and by way of a beginning only, which, I think, never can be too gentle, while I expected to conduct the expedition in person, a draft of 300 militia was ordered.

And this is as much, considering the numbers destined to watch the several inlets into the province for the transporting provisions, stores, &c. as we can hope to effect.

Orders are this day given for each parish to furnish two able married men for each deserter from it, which is the only expedient I can think of at present to supply the deficiency; I shall order the horses and corvées you require, if, upon mature consideration, you think it advisable.

You may be assured, however, that as far as in my power, I shall do every thing that depends upon me to assist you, and the service you are going upon.

I am, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated Quebec, 28th May, 1777.

I HAVE received your letter by express; the commissary has had positive orders to follow your directions in every thing,

thing, and Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger being destined to command a corps co-operating with you, was intrusted by me to consult you upon all occasions; I therefore take for granted, that Mr. Day will obey such commands as you shall give him for forming magazines for Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, at such places, as when the rendezvous of their different detachments are determined upon, shall be indicated to him; I must observe, that Niagara is entirely out of the question.

As to his staff, I must refer him to you; only I would observe, that he seems to require a staff sufficient for a great army. What you think proper to allow him, I shall approve of; but this he must settle and arrange with you, and I think he should take such as may be necessary for him from the staff already established, and not make new creations.

I cannot appoint a surgeon, as Mr. St. Leger requires for his detachment, nor can I allow a regiment to remain without their surgeon; but if the gentleman in question chuses to resign his commission in the regiment he belongs to, in order to accompany Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, I shall not object to it.

I would suggest my wishes, that you make the necessary arrangement for the forwarding of the provisions, which are to pass through this province for your army, after you shall be advanced, to which arrangement I shall give all the assistance in my power.

I am, Sir,

with great regard, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-Governor Cramaché, dated Montreal, 9th June, 1777.

GENERAL BURGOYNE having made a requisition for a corvée of Canadians to assist the troops going upon an expedition under his command, I beg you will give orders, that the utmost diligence be used by the commissary for the corvées and all the officers of militia; that a body of 500 be immediately drawn from the district of Quebec for this service; and as soon as they can be assembled, that they proceed without delay under proper leaders to St. John's, giving me and the commanding officer there an account thereof. I desire likewise

likewise that Mr. Baby be directed to send me immediately a state of the numbers of militia-men contained in the district of Quebec, and from thence up to Three Rivers.

Please likewise to send me Mr. Rouville's commission, which is to be dated the same as the others, and that of Mr. Southers, to be dated the day of his presenting his *mandamus*.

Understanding that the ship with the naval stores is arrived, I should be glad that such part as is required for the vessels upon the Upper Lakes be selected out of them, and sent up with all expedition; the charge of it to be given to Captain Thomson, who I intend to send to these lakes, in order to procure from him an exact report of the state and condition of the vessels there. Mr. Robertson will be able to assist him in getting up the stores from Quebec, &c.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Montreal, 7th June, 1777.

SIR,

HAVING had the honour to represent to your Excellency the necessity of being provided with a certain number of horses and carriages for the artillery, victual and other indispensable purposes of the army, when it shall be obliged to quit the borders of the lakes and rivers; and having understood from your Excellency, that such provision could not be made by the ordinary methods of *corvée*, and that if proposed without compulsion to the country, the effect would be precarious, dilatory and expensive, I have now the honour of laying before your Excellency proposals of contracts for an expeditious supply of a necessary number of horses for the artillery, and 500 carts, with two horses each, for other purposes.

I am too ignorant of the prices of the country to offer any judgment upon the reasonableness of these proposals, nor have I any long acquaintance with Mr. Jordan, or other motives for wishing him the preference, if other persons can be found equally capable, responsible and expeditious. I have only interfered thus far upon a conviction, after considering the route the King's orders directs, and taking all possible methods of information upon the supply to be expected as we proceed, that to depend upon the country altogether would be to hazard the expedition.

Your Excellency will observe, that in order to save the public expence as much as possible, I have reduced this requisition much below what would be adequate to the service, meaning to trust to the resources of the expedition for the rest. Five hundred carts will hardly carry 14 days provision at a time, and Major-General Philips means to demand as few horses as possible, subject to whatever future augmentations future services may require. The present number will be about four hundred. There will then remain unprovided for (for expeditious movements) the transport of batteaux from Lake George to Hudson's river, and the carriage of the tents and baggage of the army, and many other contingencies I need not trouble your Excellency to point out to you.

I have the honour to be, with true respect,

J. BURGoyNE.

Proposals for furnishing Horses, Carriages and Drivers for the Service of the Army, on the Expedition under the Command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, viz.

One thousand horses with harness.

Five hundred carts to carry eight hundred weight, drawn by two horses.

One driver to each cart.

One half of the number to be rendezvoused at Chatteau Quay, in 15 days from the date of the contract; the remainder in 30 days.

The carts and harness within the same space at St. John's.

The commissary appointed by the crown to grant a certificate of the delivery.

All horses, carts, harness, &c. are to be kept compleat, and every incidental expence of conductors to be paid by the contractor, except provision for the drivers, and forage for the horses.

When the King's magazines cannot supply forage with convenience to the service, the contractor is to have the liberty of doing it, and upon producing proper certificates, to be paid at the rate by which the King's magazines are to be supplied.

The contractor to be paid for this service at the rate of seven shillings Halifax currency *per* day for each cart, with two horses and driver, to commence from the day of rendezvous.

All

All horses killed, dying in the service, or taken by the enemy, to be paid for, on those cases certified by the King's commissary, at the rate of ten pounds each, carts taken or destroyed, five pounds; harness, three pounds.

The constructors to be paid every two months by warrant granted upon the commissary's certificate.

This contract to be in force 150 days.

Penalty for performance, £.

Montreal,

6th June, 1777.

J. J.

Proposals for furnishing Horses and Drivers for the Service of the Artillery, on the Expedition under the Command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, viz.

Horses

One driver to every two horses.

One half of the number to rendezvous at Chatteau Gay in 15 days from date of the contract; the remainder in 30 days.

The commissary appointed by the Crown to grant a certificate of the delivery.

All horses and drivers to be kept compleat in number, and every incidental expence of conductors to be paid by the contractor, except provisions for the drivers, and forage for the horses.

When the King's magazines cannot supply forage, with convenience to the service, the contractor is to have a liberty of doing it, and upon producing proper certificates to be paid at the rate by which the King's magazines are to be supplied.

The contractor to be paid for this service, at the rate of six shillings *per* day for every two horses, and one driver, to commence from the day of rendezvous.

All horses killed, dying in the service, or taken by the enemy, to be paid for on those cases certified by the King's commissary, at the rate of ten pounds each.

The contractors to be paid every two months by warrant granted upon the commissary's certificate.

This contract to be in force 150 days.

Penalty for performance, £.

Montreal,

6th June, 1777.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated Montreal, 7th June, 1777.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of this day's date on the subject of a contract for horses for the artillery, and other purposes of the army, and enclosing proposals for the same.

It is sufficient that you see the necessity of this measure for my approving of it, and therefore I wish you would conclude such agreement as appears to you to be just and reasonable, and with such person as you shall think proper (there seems to me no cause of objection either against the terms or person proposed) and I shall be happy if any assistance I can give may forward the business.

I am Sir, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Extract of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Sir Guy Carleton, dated 17th August, 1776.

HIS Majesty being persuaded, that at the time you appointed Lieutenant-Colonels Nesbit, Fraser, Powell and Gordon to act as Brigadiers, you were satisfied the same would be for the benefit of the service, has been pleased to approve of their appointment, and they will accordingly receive pay as such during their continuance in Canada.

But I have his Majesty's orders to observe to you, that whenever any of the said officers shall lead their brigades out of the province of Canada, in order to join the troops under General Howe, there will be a necessity for their command ceasing as Brigadier, to prevent the impropriety of their bearing a higher rank and pay than several of the Lieutenant-colonels who are their seniors in that army. Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to give such directions hereupon as you may judge most expedient.

Extra

Extract of a Letter from the Secretary at War to Sir Guy Carleton, dated March 25, 1777.

I AGREE with your Excellency for the reasons stated in your dispatch of 29th of November, that it is best not to turn over the English recruits of the 33d regiment; but I should think it adviseable, to distribute the German recruits for that corps among the regiments serving under your command, as the agent informs me, that under the idea that this measure would be adopted, the officers recruiting for the 33d have for some time been employed in raising men to replace them.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Foy to Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, dated Montreal, June 10, 1777.

SIR,

I HAVE it in command to send you the enclosed extract of a letter from Lord George Germaine, containing the instructions which is to be your guidance, when you shall proceed upon the expedition which you are to command.

I am, Sir, &c.

E. FOY.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated St. John's, June 13, 1777.

SIR,

THE Canadians which are to serve on the expedition, going under your command, having been drafted from the militia of the several parishes, upon promise of being allowed to return to their families by the first of November, being the time they expect the winter to set in; and all those ordered, or to be ordered, upon corvées, for different purposes of the troops which pass the lakes, consenting to this service, upon the faith of being dismissed by the same time, I am to request that you will allow both the one and the other to return accordingly, unless any of them shall chuse to remain with you of their own free will and inclination.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. CARLETON.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Sir Guy Carleton, dated St. John's, June 15, 1777.

SIR,

I AM sorry to inform your Excellency, that the four men of the Canadian company's, whose names are enclosed, deserted last night, with their arms, provisions, and every other article they had.

I trouble your Excellency with the report, thinking that if one or more of these men could be apprehended, they would be very proper subjects for an example; and I should have no scruple in trying them by a court martial; it is supposed they are gone directly home; and I submit to your Excellency, whether a party sent directly to their parishes, might not have good effect.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. You will excuse my paper and pen, being just embarking.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, dated, Montreal, June 17, 1777.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter, inclosing a list of deserters from the companies of Canadians, under your command. No time has been lost in giving orders for every possible means to be used to apprehend them; and at whatever time they are taken, they shall be sent to you, to proceed against them as you shall think proper.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. CARLETON.

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Philips to Sir Guy Carleton, dated St. John's, June 17, 1777.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty, with great respect, to report to your Excellency, that unless you are so good to order the 29th regiment to St. John's, for two months, to assist the transport of the expedition, it will be impossible the service can go on; that regiment encamping here for the summer months, will expedite every service here, and the 31st regiment may do the duty of the garrison; so much it is necessary, that I shall be obliged to keep a battalion from crossing the Lake, until your Excellency is so good to send the 29th regiment, which may move even by companies, supposing the regiment cannot assemble easily together.

As your Excellency has entrusted to me during the winter, the care of the posts, it has given me such knowledge, that I will venture to offer, for your Excellency's consideration, that the 31st regiment be ordered to take up the following chain, observing, that the company at Point aux Fer may or may not be withdrawn hereafter, as your Excellency shall see proper, as the post is strong and secure; but at present it is of absolute necessity there should be a company at Point aux Fer, as it is an intermediate depot between St. John and Crown Point.

Posts to be occupied by the 31st regiment, June, 1777.

	Companies.									
Point aux Fer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Isle aux Noix	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St John's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Chambly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
										8
Sorel the additional company of the regiment	-									1
										9
Total										9

Should your Excellency be pleased to allow of this distribution, I will request your Excellency will send me, by express, your approbation, and I will direct the route of the 31st accordingly.

I will

I will venture to offer an opinion relating to the detachment of the six regiments which are on the expedition, namely, the 9th, 20th, 21st, 47th, 53d, 62d. It is, that they be ordered directly to Montreal, where the hospital is, and where there is an excellent barrack to receive them as they recover; and your Excellency is sensible these detachments are composed of the sick men from each of the six regiments. I apprehend the German detachment to be much the same; and unless the men are together in one body, I greatly fear they never will be serviceable.

I trust to your Excellency's goodness to pardon this intrusion on your time; it is great respect and sincere attention for your Excellency which dictates every line I ever write to your Excellency.

I will hope an immediate answer to this letter, as I must arrange the movement of Brigadier General Hamilton's brigade accordingly. I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most

Obedient and humble servant,

W. PHILIPS.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Philips to Sir Guy Carleton, dated St. John's, 17th June, 1777.

SIR,

IT is with great reluctance I write, when I am obliged to give your Excellency so much trouble; but I am under the necessity of reporting to your Excellency, that I have received reports from the Quarter-master-general's assistants, that the corvées necessary for the transport of the army from Chambly to the Portage, and from the Portage to this place, are most of them run away, in such manner that the transport of provisions is nearly stopped; and I am apprehensive, unless means be found to forward on this service, that the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne may shortly want provisions.

I would offer to your Excellency's consideration, whether part of Brigadier General Maclean's corps should not be ordered to the south of the river St. Lawrence, and on the parishes on both sides of the river Sorel, to enforce such orders for the necessary corvées required, as will enable this service to go on.

I had

I had the honour to send to your Excellency an express this day, requesting the 29th regiment to be sent to St. John's, in order that by detachments to St. Therese the communication and corvées may be kept on for the transport of provisions and stores. I have been obliged to order the 62d regiment to remain behind for some days, in hopes the 29th will soon relieve it.

Major St. George Dupré, commissary of the transport of the army by corvées, can never be of any use remaining in Montreal; I will hope your Excellency will have the goodness to order him upon the communication on the Sorel, and the south of the river St. Lawrence, as Verchers, Varennes, Boucherville, Longueuil, La Prairie, in order by his presence and by his activity he may urge on the different corvées, without which, I must repeat, to be really under apprehensions the supply of the troops at Crown Point.

If Brigadier General Maclean was to reside a few days at Chambly, it might perhaps be of use, by giving countenance and protection to the officers of militia in the execution of their orders.

I repeat how extremely sorry I am to be obliged to write thus, which nothing but the real state of facts should oblige me to do. I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c. &c.

W. PHILIPS.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Major General Philips, dated Montreal, 18th June, 1777.

SIR,

I RECEIVED one letter from you of yesterday's date late last night, and another this morning.

As it is my earnest desire to give every assistance to the expedition under General Burgoyne, the 29th regiment shall move immediately, and encamp at St. Therese, about half way between Chamblee and St. John's, being the properest place for that communication.

The 31st regiment shall be disposed of as you propose, except as to Point au Fer, which is contrary to my orders; but if you find that a company can be of use at Riviere la Colle, one shall be sent there. The emigrants, or the greatest part, shall cross to the south side, for the purpose you desire; and Mr. St. George shall go over there, to attend to that service,

vice, as shall also Brigadier Maclean, to give every assistance in his power.

I should be glad you would order the detachment of the 20th and 21st to move directly to this place, where the other similar detachments (except that of the 62d, which I shall order to Quebec) shall also be assembled, agreeable to your proposition.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your most, &c.

G. C.

C O P Y of O R D E R S.

Montreal, 8th June, 1777.

Parole St. Anne and Boston.

THE 31st regiment is to take and to move immediately to the posts of St. John and the Isle aux Noix, four companies to each place, one company of those at Isle aux Noix to move to Riviere la Colle, in case Major General Philips shall think it necessary, and signify the same to them. The companies at all these posts to be aiding and assisting in the transport of provisions, stores, and all things, passing for the troops under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

The 29th regiment to march and encamp at or near St. Therese, detaching two companies to Chambly; this regiment will likewise be aiding and assisting in forwarding every thing necessary for General Burgoyne's troops. The royal Highland emigrants will detach a company to Sorel, for the like services; and Brigadier General Maclean will make a tour to the place on that river, and order such further part of his regiment to take posts there as he finds may be necessary for the above purposes, or for assisting the officers of militia, and executing orders sent to them. Mr. St. George Dupré, commissary for the transport, will pass over to the south side of the river St. Lawrence, and use his utmost diligence to forward these services, and to see that the different corvées are supplied, demanding the assistance of the nearest troops where it may be necessary, who are to comply with such request as he shall make.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Philips to Sir Guy Carleton, dated St. John's, 19th June, 1777.

SIR,

I JUST now received your Excellency's letter and orders of the 18th instant, and I send off an officer express, that he may return on the instant, so that I may be able to leave St. John's to-morrow, convinced, I hope, that every arrangement has met your Excellency's approbation: I have always offered my opinions with the utmost respect, and it has ever been the greatest satisfaction to me, when they have at all coincided with those of your Excellency.

Two companies of the 29th regiment being ordered by your Excellency to Chambly, of which I am very glad, will allow the 31st regiment to be divided equally, four companies to St. John's, and four companies to the Isle aux Noix, which shall take place the instant the 29th regiment arrives.

I will venture to trespass upon your Excellency's goodness to allow my request, that the remaining six companies of the 29th regiment may be divided,

One to the Little Portage;

One to the Upper Portage;

Four to St. John's.

The reason for this arrangement is, that being so posted, they will communicate from Chambly to the Isle aux Noix, in the transport of provisions and stores for Lieutenant General Burgoyne's expedition; and I beg to assure your Excellency, that it is not upon slight grounds I have formed my wishes upon this subject, but upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of every person concerned in the different transports here; and it is meant not to employ the 29th regiment other than for this duty, the 31st being the garrison of this place and the Isle aux Noix, will have sufficient duty in that service; I will therefore still hope that your Excellency will be so good to allow of this distribution of the 29th regiment.

I have but one more article to trouble your Excellency upon, which is that of Point au Fer; it is at present a dépôt for provisions being lodged there when the wind will not permit the vessels to go further, in order not to lose time, as also for artillery stores; there are also rafts made there for transporting the provision-carts belonging to Mr. Jordan, and many other articles for the public service.

Will you therefore, Sir, permit me to most respectfully request your Excellency to lend a company from the 31st at the Isle aux Noix, to take charge of this post, which becomes serious, from the reasons I have given. May I presume to offer my opinion, that although Point au Fer is beyond the latitudinal limits of the province, it is certainly within the frontier, which I have ever conceived to extend to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. This duty will be required only for a few weeks; the company may return to its station at Isle aux Noix, and in the mean time be of essential use to the service.

I had the honour to write to your Excellency this morning, informing you, Sir, that I had ordered the detachments of the 20th, 21st, and 53d regiments to move to Sorel, to be in readiness there for further orders, which I have now received from your Excellency, that they are to be quartered at Montreal. I still continue their rout for Sorel by water, as it is the easiest for the sick, which the surgeons here have reported upon, and requested that mode of conveyance, and it will prevent all interference with the transport of the army by land-carriage. I have directed Lieutenant Duport, assistant to the quarter-master-general at Sorel, to assist in forwarding the rout of these detachments to Montreal; and I will still request a surgeon's mate from the hospital may be sent with medicines, to meet them there in case they should stand in need.

I am now to take my leave of your Excellency, which I do with the most sincere feelings of gratitude for a thousand favours and acts of friendship you have conferred upon me.

I shall not fail to report to Lieutenant General Burgoyne your Excellency's marked goodness to him, in ordering the 29th regiment, and the emigrants, with Brigadier General Maclean, to assist the transport for the service of his expedition; I am sure he will have every grateful feeling upon the occasion.

I hear your Excellency intends to stay some days at Montreal, at which I exceedingly rejoice, as the consequence of your presence in this part of the province at present, from the dignity of your situation, cannot fail of being of real use.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c.

WM. PHILIPS.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Major General Philips, dated Quebec, 26th June, 1777.

SIR,

YOUR dispatches of the 19th of June arrived at Montreal after I was set out, which has prevented my answering them

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D E B A T E S.

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them sooner. Orders are given for moving the 29th regiment exactly as you desired, and you may dispose of a company of the 31st regiment at Point au Fer, as I am fully persuaded of the utility of such a step; but I shall lay the blame, if any be imputed to me for exceeding my orders, upon you.

I desire you will remind General Burgoyne to send me a state of the troops under his command after the recruits now on their way have joined him, as I intend to complete his regiments from the best men of the additional companies.

I am, Sir, with great regard,

Your most, &c.

G. C.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated Quebec 26th June, 1777.

SIR,

Mr. JORDAN being under apprehensions of not being able to find the number of men which he shall want for his horses, has applied to me to order him from the country as many as will make up his deficiency; but I saw great impropriety in commanding people for supplying a purpose for which you had made a contract, as I do great inconveniencies which must arise from ordering corvées, one part of which is to be paid, while others are not; mean time, in order to forward the service which Mr. Jordan has undertaken, as much as I could, I have given him permission to employ any part of the corvée ordered for your army to which no particular duty had been assigned by you, which he shall require, to assist in conducting his horses to you.

Two hundred and forty-eight men, of five hundred, ordered from this district, are already set out for St. John's, and two hundred and three are now here to set out to-day or to-morrow, and forty-four have been sent to replace deserters.

I am, with great regard,

Sir, &c. &c.

G. C.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th May, 1777.

YOUR secret letter of the 2d April, together with its two inclosures, are received, and I have had the honour of laying them before his Majesty.

As you must, from your situation and military skill, be a competent judge of the propriety of every plan, his Majesty does not hesitate to approve the alterations which you propose; trusting, however, that whatever you may meditate, it will be executed in time for you to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada, and put itself under your command.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that his Majesty entirely approves of your letter to Sir Guy Carleton.

Copy of the Inrollment of Commission to Lord Viscount Howe, and General William Howe, dated 6th May, 16 Geo. III.

Fourth Part of Inrollments of Patents of the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King George the Third.

Richard Lord Vis-
count Howe, Ge-
neral Wm. Howe,
Commission.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Briain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To our right, trusty, and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard Lord Viscount Howe of our kingdom of Ireland, and to our trusty and well-beloved William Howe, Esquire, Major-General of our forces, and General of our forces in North America only, greeting. Whereas a wicked and daring rebellion hath been raised in our colonies and provinces of New-Hampshire, Massachusets-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pensylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia; and the rebels have taken possession of many parts of the said colonies and provinces, and traiterously usurped the government thereof, whereby it hath become necessary to suppress by force of arms the said rebellion, and to reduce the said colonies to a state of due obedience to our laws. And whereas we are notwithstanding earnestly desirous to deliver all our subjects, and every part of the dominions belonging to our crown, from the calamities of war, and other oppressions which they now undergo, and to restore them to our protection and peace, as soon as the said rebellious force shall be removed, and the just authority of our laws may be replaced: We therefore reposing especial trust and confidence in your wisdom, circumspection, diligence, and loyalty, have nominated and appointed, and by these presents we do nominate and appoint you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe, and you

you the said William Howe, and each of you, jointly and severally to be our commissioner and commissioners in that behalf, to do, perform, and execute all the powers and authorities hereby intrusted and committed to you and each of you, the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, according to the tenor of these our letters patent, and of such further instructions as you shall from time to time receive, under our signet or sign manual. And whereas we being graciously inclined to extend our royal clemency to all those who have been hurried away from their just obedience to the laws, by the tumult and disorder of the times, or who are desirous, by a speedy return to their duty, to obtain forgiveness, do vouchsafe, and are willing to grant, our free and general pardon to such persons and descriptions of men as aforesaid. We have therefore thought fit to give and grant, and by these presents we do accordingly give and grant unto you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe, and you the said William Howe, and to each of you, full power, authority, and licence, from time to time to proclaim our said general indulgence and pardon to such persons, numbers, and descriptions of persons, with such limitations and exceptions therefrom, as, considering all the circumstances of time and place and occasion of publishing the same, to you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe, and William Howe, or to either of you, shall seem most expedient; and to proclaim the same in all such place or places within the said colonies or provinces of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, or any of them respectively, wherein it shall seem expedient to you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, at your will and pleasure: and also to name and assign to our said subjects, and every of them, such time as you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, shall think fit, within which they shall severally and respectively be admitted to sue out our said general pardon in writing under the hands and seals of you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you. And it is our further will and pleasure, and we do hereby authorise and appoint and give and grant full power, authority, and liberty unto you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, and to each of you, after such proclamation or proclamations made as aforesaid, to give and grant to all and singular our said subjects in the said colonies or provinces of New-Hampshire, Massa-

Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of New-castle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, our general pardon as aforesaid, to whom in your discretion, or in the discretion of either of you, it shall seem meet, and to none other, to be made and passed in due form, as follows :

“ GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God of Great
 “ Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith,
 “ and so forth, to all men to whom these presents shall come,
 “ greeting. Know ye that we of our special grace, certain
 “ knowledge, and mere motion, and out of the zeal and af-
 “ fection which we have and bear to our subjects, have pardon-
 “ ed, remised, and released, and by these presents do pardon,
 “ remise, and release, to A. B. of C. in the — otherwise
 “ called, &c. or by whatsoever other name or surname, or ad-
 “ dition of name or surname, dignity, office, or place the said
 “ A. B. shall be reputed, called, or named, or heretofore
 “ was reputed, called, or named, all and singular treasons, as
 “ well high treasons as petit treasons, rebellions, insurrections,
 “ and conspiracies against us, our crown and dignity ; and
 “ also all and all manner of misprisions of treason, or other
 “ misprisions, by him the said A. B. at any time heretofore
 “ had, done, or perpetrated, whether the said A. B. of the pre-
 “ mises, or any of them, should have been indicted, appealed,
 “ sued, and adjudged outlawed, convicted, condemned, or at-
 “ tainted, or not. We also pardon, remise, and release, by
 “ these presents, to the aforesaid A. B. all and singular judg-
 “ ments, pains of death, punishments, and issues and profits of
 “ all domains, manors, lands, tenements, and other heredita-
 “ ments of him the said A. B. on occasion of the premises,
 “ or any of them, by him the said A. B. forfeited or lost,
 “ and to us by reason of the premises due, belonging, or
 “ appertaining.” And it is our further will and pleasure,
 that such pardon, shall be duly passed and made to such per-
 sons, and to such number and description of persons, and to
 each and every of them, as you the said Richard Lord Viscount
 Howe and William Howe, or either of you, shall think fit, un-
 der your hands and seals, or the hand and seal of either of you ;
 which said general pardon or pardons we hereby authorise
 and empower you, or either of you, to grant and pass accor-
 dingly. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you
 the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, and each
 of you, from time to time to enquire diligently into the
 state and condition of the said colonies and provinces, and of
 every county, town, port, district and place, within the same,

or

or any of them, respectively, and to receive and entertain all dutiful complaints and representations made to you, or either of you, by the inhabitants thereof, and faithfully and duly to transmit the same to one of our principal secretaries of State, that such reformation and redress may follow thereupon, as the nature of the case shall require: and it is our further will and pleasure, that you confer, as occasion may require, with our subjects in the said provinces, or any of them, concerning such arrangements and regulations as may tend to the advantage and stability of the said several colonies and provinces, and to a lasting union of each of them, respectively, with Great-Britain, upon the true principles of the constitution; and whenever it shall appear to you the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, that the said rebellion is so far suppressed in any of the said colonies, or provinces, respectively, that the inhabitants thereof may enjoy their rights and privileges in a dutiful submission to our laws and government. It is our further will and pleasure, that you the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, do signify to the governor, or lieutenant governor, or commander in chief for the time being, of such colony or province, respectively, under the hands and seals of you the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or the hand and seal of either of you, that he do summon and call together an assembly or general court of the said province or colony; and if the said general court or assembly, being so summoned, shall make tender of their duty and obedience, and shall make application to you the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, to have the restraint upon their trade and intercourse taken off, in such manner as shall satisfy you of their loyalty and obedience; or although it should happen, that the said rebellion is not so far suppressed, that the inhabitants of every part of any of our said provinces or colonies, respectively, may enjoy the benefit of our gracious intentions for their relief; yet if in certain parts or districts, within any of the said colonies or provinces, the inhabitants thereof shall make tender of their duty and obedience, and submit themselves to the magistrates, legally empowered by us, and to the due and regular exercise of our government and laws, in such manner as shall give you the said Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, sufficient reason to be satisfied of the sincerity and permanency of their loyalty and obedience: in any, or either of the said cases, we do hereby authorize and empower you the said Lord Vis-

Viscount Howe and William Howe, or either of you, by open proclamation, in our name, from time to time, to declare any such colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, respectively, to be at our peace; whereupon, and from and after the issuing any such proclamation in any of the colonies or provinces, respectively, the further execution of a certain act made and passed in the present parliament, intituled an act to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, during the continuance of the present rebellion within the said colonies, respectively, and for repealing an act made in the fourteenth year of our reign, to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading or shipping goods, wares, and merchandizes, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and also two acts made in the last session of parliament, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies in the said acts respectively mentioned; and to enable any person or persons appointed and authorised by his Majesty to grant pardons, and to issue proclamations in the cases and for the purposes therein mentioned, shall, with respect to such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, respectively, and none other, cease, determine, and be utterly void; and we do hereby declare, ordain, and appoint, that you the said Richard Lord Viscount Howe and William Howe, and each of you, shall and may hold, execute and enjoy the office and place, and offices and places, of our commissioner and commissioners, as herein mentioned, with all rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever, together with all and singular the powers and authorities hereby granted unto you, for and during our will and pleasure, and no longer. In witness, &c.

Witness ourself at Westminster the sixth day of May.

By the KING himself.

Examined with the record.

CHARLES DAVES, one of the Clerks of the Petty Bag.

To the Right Honourable Lord George Germaine, &c.

MY LORD,

New-York, December 22, 1776.

BY our last dispatch, dated the 30th of November, we had the honour to communicate to your Lordship a proclamation, which we had judged proper to be issued, limiting the

the time within which his Majesty's general pardon should be granted, to sixty days. It is with the greatest satisfaction we now inform your Lordship of the success of that measure. A very considerable number of persons, who had been active in the rebellion, particularly in this province, and that of the Jerseys, have already subscribed the declaration of allegiance; and his Majesty's pardons, according to the form prescribed in our commission, are made out, and given as fast as the necessary certificates are produced.

The whole of the Jerseys, except a very inconsiderable part, which we think must of course follow, has submitted; and of the province of Pennsylvania, which his Majesty's forces have not yet entered, several persons of property (and also of weight in the country, so long as any apparent desire to obtain reasonable terms of accommodation subsisted) have subscribed the declaration.

As we have not yet received the returns of submissions from the gentlemen authorised to take them, it is not in our power to transmit a complete list, nor even to ascertain the numbers; but we may perhaps judge it proper to trouble your Lordship therewith by a future opportunity, when the disposition of the people at large may be more fully determined. In the mean time, we can only say, that, from the successful circulation of the proclamation, at least in the neighbouring provinces; and from the avidity with which the terms of it have been hitherto embraced, we have reason to conclude, that very material good consequences will accrue from it before the sixty days shall be expired. We do not indeed flatter ourselves, that it will effect such a general submission throughout the continent, especially in the distant provinces, as the lenity of it ought to induce. We shall be happy however, if a measure, founded upon his Majesty's most gracious plan of mercy, should so far succeed, as to prevent, even in the smallest degree, the effusion of blood, and promote the restoration of public tranquility in any of his Majesty's colonies. We have the honour to be, &c.

HOWE,

WILLIAM HOWE.

January 26.

Private business.

January 27.

Colonel *Barré* said, that it appeared to him, the papers produced upon the table, were in many parts defective, erroneous and unsatisfactory. The information granted to the

House was not complied with ; and the appointed enquiry was, in effect, defeated, by withholding the intelligence and materials necessary thereto. In particular, the accounts of the army expenditure were so incorrect, that no credit was given, nor notice made of the savings of the pay to foreign troops, by decrease of number from death, desertion, captivity and other causes. Such savings were noticed in the accounts of the British troops, and he thought it somewhat extraordinary that the one should be accounted for, and not the other ; at the same time remarking that the returns of the foreign troops were also very incorrect. Numberless chasms appeared, which he could not fill up, gaps which he could not supply, and so strangely and inaccurately were they framed upon the whole, that no certain information could be drawn from them. He continued to observe, that other accounts moved for, and granted to the House, had been totally withheld. He had himself, almost two months ago moved, " That an account of all the contracts issued from the treasury-office, towards supplying the army in America with stores and provisions, and the persons appointed to act in the commissariat, whether victuallers, agents, commissaries of stores, or clerks of stores, &c. from September 29, 1774, to September 29, 1777, be laid before the House." None of these, however, were yet laid upon the table ; and notwithstanding the day of enquiry was so near, no reason was assigned why they were withheld, nor promise made of their immediate appearance.

He censured the conduct of administration, as very unwarrantable, and reminded the House, as it was their pleasure to vote the army estimates at the beginning of each session, so it was their duty to see, that the money so granted was properly applied. He therefore, before any other official papers from the military department were taken into consideration, thought it both proper and necessary, that all official documents respecting the foreign troops, in our pay ; of respits, hospitals, &c. should be laid before the House. A noble Lord, whom he did not see in his place [Lord George Germaine] he understood was absent on account of a domestic misfortune ; but as the public had met with a national calamity, he should never receive it as a sufficient reason for withholding information from the House at so alarming a period.

Lord Barrington.

Lord Barrington accounted for the omission of those savings, by observing, that they went by agreement to the princes who furnished us those troops as a compensation for recruiting them ; he also argued the propriety of this agreement from

from the usage universally adopted in this kingdom with respect to the service, where the pay of the deficient men is always allowed to each regiment as a compensation for the recruiting service.

Colonel *Barré* replied, that if the noble Lord would look *Col. Barré* into the treaties between our court and the German states, he would find, that Government was to pay distinct for the recruiting service, and that consequently those powers could have but one demand upon us. If we were to keep up and return the corps complete, most certainly we were intitled to the fund appropriated to that service, which was the pay of the deficient numbers. Indeed the German princes had put the matter beyond a possibility of doubt; for they had expressly stipulated, so much for a man killed, and so much for a man wounded and rendered unserviceable.

He alluded next to the motion made for laying before the House such papers as might be necessary to give an insight into the actual state of the nation: it was now a long time, eight weeks, since the House had ordered in these papers; the early adjournment had been proposed in order to afford time sufficient for getting them ready, and after all there was not a single paper relative to that business on the table; he supposed that they were to be brought in perhaps the day before the enquiry, and accused the minister of unfair dealing in not submitting them sooner to public inspection, that, in so weighty a matter, gentlemen might have time to peruse and digest them, and thereby be enabled to form a proper idea of the real state of the nation.

Lord *North* said, he was of opinion that the gentleman, by *Ld. North* whom the motion alluded to had been made, was not, at the time he made it, thoroughly aware of its great extent. Contracts for cloathing, victualling and supplying the troops with rum, porter, &c. &c. together with the minutes of the treasury relative to all such contracts, for four entire years, have been called for. To obey the order of the House required more time than at first had been supposed. They were not yet ready; in a very few days they would; and then gentlemen would be convinced, that being so prodigiously voluminous, it was absolutely impossible they could have been produced sooner. He did not wish to evade the enquiry, as had been insinuated by the honourable gentleman; and therefore he would not submit to the charge, however familiar such insinuations were become to him. It was his sincere desire to comply, as strictly as possible, with the orders of the

House, yet he did not think himself responsible for any incorrectness which might appear to the honourable gentleman; but he assured every side of the House, that nothing should be wanting, that depended on him, to give the House every possible satisfaction.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* suggested, that it would have been more candid in the noble Lord to have told the House at first, that the papers could not be ready by the time specified in the motion; and that therefore it would be necessary to appoint a longer day. It was evident however, that the noble Lord was full as ignorant of the extent of the order, when it was made, as he was, or he would have urged his objections at the time, but he did not even hint a doubt of the order being fully complied with. This was a species of candour which had often been experienced from his Lordship.

*General
Conway.*

General *Conway* spoke to the defects in the accounts already before the House: he said, that it was impossible that the commander in chief could be ignorant of the number of his forces, whether national or foreign, and consequently of the losses they had sustained; otherwise it would be impossible for him to know whether any particular detachment he ordered upon duty, were equal to the task imposed on them: such ignorance could not, in the nature of things, be attributed to the commanders. He had the honour at times to command detachments made up of troops of different nations; but he always was thoroughly acquainted with the number of his men. The numbers sent to America, and those contained in the last returns, differed most essentially: there was a difference of no less than 18 or 20,000 men, who must naturally be supposed to be lost during the several campaigns: it was therefore the duty of Parliament to insist on an explanation of a matter so highly important.

Lord Barrington.

Lord *Barrington* adverted to Colonel *Barré*'s observations relative to the omission of the savings from the pay of the foreign troops. He informed the House, that such numbers of recruits had been sent over by the different princes to whom those troops belonged, that there were no deficiencies in numbers, and consequently no savings from their pay.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* observed, that from the time the foreign troops had suffered losses, to the time such losses were signified to their respective sovereigns; and from the day of such information to the day that the lost men were replaced, there must necessarily have elapsed a very considerable time; and that consequently there must have been very considerable savings made during that period.

Lord

Lord *Barrington* said, that by treaty such savings were to be Lord *Bar-*
appropriated to levying recruits; as similar savings in British *rington.*
regiments were converted to similar uses.

Colonel *Barré* again reminded the noble Lord of his mi-Col. *Barré.*
stake, and desired him to consult the treaties, and he would
find, that all the new levies were to be made at the expence of
Great Britain. To this he received no reply.

Mr. *Fox* then rose, and premised his motion with lament-Mr. *Fox.*
ing, that the noble Lord [Lord G. Germaine] was not in his
place; especially as he understood, that his absence arose from
a family misfortune. The reason however, which induced
him to make his motion, arose from a calamity of a higher
and more extensive nature, no less than the calamity of his
country. His reason for troubling the House was to enquire
into the total loss, or rather extinction of a British army.
He should therefore make no apology for renewing his mo-
tion, because he was sufficiently satisfied, that though the no-
ble Lord could not attend, his particular sentiments on the
matter were well known. He humourously observed, that as
he wished well to his motion, so he could not possibly find a
more proper person to second it than the noble Lord in the
blue ribbon, who last week confessed himself a friend to it;
though the noble Lord experienced sad reverses in other
places, yet in that House he never appeared in any other
character than that of a conqueror; he therefore recom-
mended his motion to his patronage; as under his protection
it would infallibly be insured against misfortune: he then
moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Ma-
jesty, requesting that he will be graciously pleased to order
the proper officer to lay before the House copies of instruc-
tions given to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, together with
such parts of Sir William Howe's instructions, as related to a
co-operation with the former."

Colonel *Luttrell* expressed his abhorrence of principles Col. *Lut-*
which led gentlemen to support rebellion; a rebellion which *trell.*
should meet with every loyal subject's execration; a rebel-
lion, for which any man should blush to be an advocate; a
rebellion, the promoters of which ought not to shew their
faces, but conceal them in dens and lurking holes. He could
not, consistent with the duty which he owed his sovereign and
the constitution, remain silent, when he saw a set of men
combined together to betray their country. Placemen with-
out places; orators who spent their time in studying inflam-
matory speeches, and expending their incomes in having them
published

published in the news-papers; rhetoricians, who got their livelihood by publishing their speeches in Parliament; abettors of treason and rebellion, combined purposely for the ruin of their country.

[Here he was violently called to order, and the House seemed for some time in a kind of ferment.]

Mr. Charles
Turner.

Mr. *Charles Turner* repeated the words of Colonel Luttrell which had given so much offence, which he had taken down in writing; and after shewing the very great insult offered to a respectable number of gentlemen, he, to mend the matter, and shew where the fault lay, said, that in his conscience he was convinced that the ministry were combined to betray their country.

[This produced as violent an outcry as Colonel Luttrell's assertion, and threw the House into the utmost confusion; nothing for a long time could be heard but *Order, order, Chair, chair*. The Speaker at length appeased the tumult, and said, that he imagined the Colonel did not mean what he had said as an insult, and that his idea did not, he dared to say, go as far as his words seemed to convey it.]

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* hoped, the House would believe, he did not rise to take notice of the generous and gentleman-like epithets thrown out by the honourable gentleman; he considered them unworthy either of his attention, or the notice of the House, which had exerted itself so warmly to restore order. But independent of all this noise and passion, he could not but be surprised, that because a motion came from his side of the House, it should be disregarded. This was a matter of serious concern, and, if once admitted, would preclude all further debate. If he, or any gentleman, in opposition, and actuated by that duty which his trust, as the representative of his constituents, the free commons of England, bound him to, should make motions relative to the good of the realm, to no other purpose than to provoke the indignation, mockery and contempt of those who differed from him!

Col. Luttrell.

Colonel *Luttrell* said, that the honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] had always declared himself a friend to revolted America: a friend to the revolted, without any particular friendship for them, must certainly be a friend to the revolt; what then could he call such people but traitors? [He was again called to order.]

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* urged the great difference between a friend to revolted America, and a friend to Hancock and Adams, and the other seditious leaders of the revolt. He stood, he said, in
the

the former predicament; and the minister in the latter. He would have conciliated the affections of America in time, and prevented at once the dismal consequences, which have resulted from opposite measures, and thereby have checked the growing power of faction; but the minister, more a friend to Hancock and Adams, and their adherents, than to America or Great Britain, had taken every possible step to unite the colonies in the plan of independence; and to aggrandize those men, who, without the assistance given them in almost every act of government before and during the contest, must have remained at this day in the situation of private gentlemen, instead of acting, as they do now, one of the greatest parts on the great theatre of the world. As to the accusation of his being an orator by trade, it was evident by the honourable gentleman's words, it was a trade he did not live by, as he was pleased to describe him as a placeman out of place; and as to the guilt of oratory, he presumed the charge would fall as justly upon the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, who had been as guilty of speaking with eloquence, as any gentleman on his side of the House, and who besides had committed the crime to as great an advantage as any placeman out of place could possibly be suspected of doing.

Lord *North* took upon him to accept the office imposed on *Ld. North* him by the gentleman who made the motion, namely, to second it, though he confessed himself much less qualified for such a task than the honourable gentleman; he had at first said, he would give his assent to every enquiry that could be made into his conduct; he would stand to his word, nor wish to screen himself from a scrutiny which he was convinced would terminate to his honour: the noble Lord for the American department had authorised him to assure the House, that he would not make the least opposition to the motion. The propriety or impropriety, the justice or injustice of the measure, he would not take upon him to argue or establish; but this much he would insist on, that having strong objections to the time of making the motion, however inclined he might be to support it when carried, the House should do him the justice to acknowledge that he was by no means instrumental in bringing forward the enquiry: he insisted the more strongly on this, as his delicacy was not a little concerned in it; some gentlemen having been induced to think, from an expression in General Burgoyne's letter, that he put the affair upon this issue, that either the ministry or himself were wrong; that he having done all that could be done by a man in his situation, it

it were impossible to cast any blame on his conduct. As this was construed into an oblique reflection on administration, he would not be supposed to act from pique or passion: he therefore repeated it, that he expected the House would do him the justice to bear testimony hereafter, that he did not wish to promote the enquiry at that season.

Sir Alexander Leith.

Sir Alexander Leith accused the minister of repelling information; said, that when the troops now raising without the authority of Parliament should be embodied and completed, the Parliament could no longer be said to be free and independent: that man, said he, (pointing to one of the servants of the House, who was bringing in candles for the Speaker's table) may be employed in lighting me to my prison, to which I may be conducted by a guard of soldiers raised without my consent.

Ld. Nugent.

Earl Nugent condemned the measure of the enquiry. It might probably go farther than the words at first might seem to import. In the affair of Matthews and Lestock, the voice of the people was in favour of the former, for having, in their opinion, bravely asserted the rights of Great Britain, and humbled the French for taking our enemies under their protection; the latter was looked upon as a man who had basely betrayed the honour of his country and his sovereign, and cowardly deserted his commander in the moment of danger; yet, what was the consequence? Lestock was honourably acquitted, and an address was presented by the Commons to the King, requesting he would order a court-martial immediately to try Admiral Matthews. Such was the strange turn that affair took; the present business might not take a less extraordinary one. He was convinced the gallant Burgoyne had done all that man could do. He might indeed have indulged an excess of valour, and thought British courage superior to any obstacle; but he hoped no one would impute it to him as a crime, that he thought his men, and Britons too, able to beat superior numbers.

The matter was, in his opinion, already prejudged; it was asserted, that some one was to blame: yet it was very possible that the expedition might have failed, without a single fault having been committed either by those who planned, or those who were charged with the management of the expedition; he could in some measure himself account for its miscarriage. A great number of Provincials, whom General Burgoyne thought to be well affected to his cause, betrayed him, and brought on the first check he received at Bennington.

Some

Some of the troops, though really very brave, did not at some particular times do their duty : this prevented the General from taking such advantages as circumstances offered him. This need not surprize the House : a very striking instance of the kind occurred at the battle of Malplaquet, when a body of British cavalry, which signalized itself that day, was marching down a lane, the first rank saw a poor woman's horse with a pair of panniers on his back, galloping from his rider whom he had thrown. This rank thinking it was part of the enemies cavalry that was advancing, instantly wheeled about, panic struck ; the other ranks, seeing their first rank face about, immediately did the same ; and the whole corps was thus put to the rout.

As soon as this motion was disposed of, which was by the previous question, and without a division, Colonel *Barre* renewed a motion which had been formerly rejected on account of the minister for the American department being absent. It was, for laying before the House “ All letters and extracts of letters which had passed between General Gage, Lord Howe, Sir William Howe, and General Carleton, from the 1st of July 1775, to the 27th of January 1778.” Col. *Barre*.

Lord *North* opposed the motion, and said, that he was Lord *North* aware of its being said of him that, what little reputation he might have acquired for candour upon the last motion, he was most likely to lose it all by his opposition to this ; yet, as he thought it inconsistent with the duty he owed himself as a minister and a member of that House ; to his King, as a subject, and to his country as an Englishman, he would oppose any motion which tended to publish to our enemies what might enable them to defeat the plans of government. Neither justice, policy, nor loyalty, would admit of such a condescension.

Mr. *Fox* supported the motion. He animadverted to an Mr. *Fox* expression made in the House some time ago by the noble Lord, “ That he was an unfortunate minister.” He played upon the word for above an hour ; and in the course of his speech recapitulated every mistake, or supposed error in administration, with the continued repetition of this expression, “ if the noble Lord had been so fortunate as to have done this ; or if he had not been so unfortunate as to have mistaken that, neither the nation nor the minister would be exposed to the necessity of the present inquiry.”

Having been defeated in every plan of a four year's war, are we to hope for success from the magnitude of our ab-

furdities? Is there a man in this House who will now stand up, and say, that it is possible we can carry on an offensive war in America next campaign? Will any man say that we can bring so great a force into the field next year as that which was baffled or destroyed last year? If then we can only act on the defensive, or bring into the field only two-thirds of the forces we had last campaign, is it to be supposed we can effect that with a lesser force, which with a far greater we were not able to attain? Or, if obliged to give up every operation of offence by land, we should only be able to carry on a naval war---was it to be supposed that we could effect that by harrassing the Americans one way, which we have found impossible to effect by harrassing them every way.

Ld. North. Lord North replied, that however unfortunate he might be as a minister, who had come into the direction of affairs at a very critical state of things, he had the consolation of being fortunate enough, by the expression of a single word, of giving the honourable gentleman an opportunity of making a very florid speech upon a single word; and that at a time too when there was a very full House.

Governor Johnstone. Governor Johnstone insisted that the motion was exceedingly proper. Ministers themselves, who had seemed so tender of the honour of absent officers, should of course espouse it. It would either exculpate our commanders from those illiberal censures so generally bestowed on them, and which ministry have so much disclaimed; or if they were guilty, it would free ministry from some aspersions, which ill-natured people were too apt to throw upon them.

On the question being put, the House divided; ayes 101; noes 163.

January 28.

No debate.

January 29.

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré said, that the accounts produced from the office of ordnance, were, in his opinion, defective and unsatisfactory, and wanted the minute statements necessary to give the information desired; and to remedy the defect, he begged leave to move, “that the proper officers be ordered to lay before the House exact accounts of the howitzers, cannon, and other artillery equipments that were in store in any part of America on the first of January, 1774; and secondly, he moved for exact accounts of the artillery and ammunition that had been shipped for America from the

the first of January 1774, to the 27th of January 1778." The first of these motions was carried in the affirmative; but to the second

Lord *North* objected, as from the present posture of mi-Ld. *North*. litary operations with regard to America, a disclosure of the force of artillery in the country must necessarily produce the most inconvenient, if not dangerous effects; at the same time he would inform the honourable gentleman, that there certainly was a very large force of artillery now in America, and he hoped that he would find any further information that he might want in the papers then upon the table.

Colonel *Barré* insisted that no fatal effects could arise from Col. *Barré*. his motion, since it did not extend to any disclosure of the force of artillery actually in store now in America, but barely what had been shipped from Britain, not deducting for consumption, or captures afloat or on shore. The reason he had for the motion was, that he conceived there had been great mismanagement somewhere, since the gross article of charge, in the account produced upon the table, referred to by the noble Lord, was 71,000l. which was greater than the expenditure for the same time during the last war, for the service of one army in Germany and another in America.

The question was put, and it passed in the negative without a division.

Colonel *Luttrell* arose, and premising his intended subject Col. *Lut-* with a few remarks on the injury of misrepresentation and *trell*. abuse, or perversion of words, of a member of that House in his official capacity, complained, that in a certain morning paper, which he held in his hand, but which he did not name, he had been grossly and palpably mis-stated, and charged with having, on a late occasion, behaved unparliamentary, and that for so doing he had received the censure of the House. He insisted a good deal on the calumny of such a charge, made many direct and severe strictures on the conduct of the editor of that paper in thus aggravating and mis-stating facts, which he hoped would be witnessed to be otherways by every member present on the occasion, and rendering him infamous in the eyes of the public. He considered such conduct as too heinous to be forgiven, and therefore he informed the House, that, for his future safety and protection, he was determined to move, on some future day, that the standing order of the House for excluding strangers from the gallery, be strictly carried into execution.

He next endeavoured to exculpate himself, from the charge of being disorderly ; and said, the honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox.] did not call him to order, but observed, that he was very near descending to personalities, and that consequently he was going to be disorderly ; but that the honourable gentleman had very good-naturedly prevented him, by interrupting him, when he perceived he was beginning to grow warm. On the whole, he wished to be understood, that it was the editor of the paper alluded to, not he, that was the occasion of shutting the gallery doors.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox rose to say so far in justification of the honourable gentleman before him, that he did not call him to order for any unparliamentary assertion levelled at him, on account of any private conversation, but because he seemed to insinuate, that because the motion came from his side of the House it should be rejected. The House at large conceived this in the same manner with himself, and the honourable gentleman accordingly was called to order. If this then was the only accusation he had against the editor complained of, he did not think it so enormous : and though he was no advocate for news-paper exposure, he did not look upon it as a sufficient reason for excluding him, among other strangers, from the House. He was convinced the true and only method of preventing misrepresentation was by throwing open the gallery, and making the debates and decisions of the House as public as possible. There was less danger of misrepresentation in a full company than a thin one, as there would be a greater number of persons to give evidence against the misrepresentation.

The shutting of the gallery could not prevent the proceedings of the House from finding their way to public view ; for during a certain period, when the gallery was kept empty, the debates were printed, let the manner of obtaining them be what it might ; and in fact, the public had a right to know what passed in Parliament.

The Speaker.

The Speaker begged to have the sense of the House to direct his future conduct.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby confessed, that he wished to have the gallery shut, not only against gentlemen but ladies ; as the latter as well as the former, might dabble in party disputes, and have their predilection and preferences for one party before another. He thought at this time it was very necessary to exclude every stranger, since in the course of next week the most serious enquiry would take place, that might perhaps affect

affect the lives and properties of individuals. He confessed, it might be thought odious to make the motion, nevertheless, if the motion was made he would second it.

Mr. *Turner* said, he should humbly intreat the honourable gentleman to give up his intention of making the motion. He did not like a man that was afraid of having his speech published; a man that weighed his words. He would be glad to see gentlemen warm when circumstances required it; their fathers were warm before them; they were warm themselves, and he hoped their children would be so after them. For his part, he would be always happy to see the gallery crowded; and that if one door was shut to exclude all the men, another should be opened to let in all the women. Mr. *Turner*.

Mr. *Speaker* said, that the conversation did not a little affect him, for there was a standing order to keep the gallery shut against strangers, and he had with the acquiescence of House relaxed it. He should therefore, as the affair happened to be mentioned, be glad before the House rose, that they would come to some determination. Mr. *Speaker*.

Mr. *Burke* paid a very generous compliment to the Speaker, for having relaxed in some measure from the rigour of a strict decree, he had acted wisely and politicly. He was sensible no doubt that *summum jus* was *summa injuria*; and that "some laws were better kept in the breach than in the performance." An odium still awaited the exertion of rigorous justice, and to render it respected it must be made gentle. As to the matter then in the contemplation of the House, he had not a doubt about the propriety of opening the doors to strangers; considering it either as the channel of information to the constituents of the members, or as a school for the instruction of youth. Nay, as the source of information and amusement to the ladies, it was a matter of very serious concern, and ought not to be done away and sported with at pleasure. Mr. *Burke*.

Mr. *Vyner* thought, that while every member had it in his power to order the strangers to withdraw, whenever it might be inconvenient for them to remain, either from want of room or from secret business on the tapis; there is no need of taking away the right entirely. Mr. *Vyner*.

General *Conway* spoke a few words to the impropriety of shutting up the door; and as a proof that it was not one individual alone that suffered from news-paper exposure, he mentioned one falsehood asserted of himself, which he laughed at and despised. Gen. *Conway*.

Colonel

Col. Luttrell.

Colonel *Luttrell* owned, that the honourable gentleman, Mr. Burke's arguments, had staggered and influenced his former judgment, and he was now convinced, it would be odious to carry the order to its rigour. He therefore passed from his resolution.

Ajourned to February 2.

February 2.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* and Mr. *Burke*, desired to know if any other papers were intended to be laid before the House, in consequence of the several motions made and agreed to by the House, both before and since the recess; particularly, whether any instructions to generals, governors, &c. were intended to constitute any part of the information.

Ld. George Germaine.

Lord *George Germaine* said, that all the papers ordered by the House from his office were given in, and, as far as he knew, were now on the table.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* said, this was a very ambiguous answer to a very fair question put to the noble Lord. Responsibility was shifted one minute, official knowledge the next. The persons applying for this or that species of information were told, that the papers were not here, that they were not there. This bore, in his opinion, a very suspicious appearance. In such a mass of uncertainty and chicane, he expected however, let the papers be what they might, perfect or imperfect, that they would all, without exception, be produced.

Gen. Conway.

General *Conway* supported, as a professional man, the sentiments of his honourable friend. He observed, that the accounts of the Hessian corps were either imperfect or totally omitted. He instanced in particular, the affair of Red-Bank, in which the Hessians, under the command of that gallant, but unsuccessful officer, Colonel *Donop*, had suffered a most severe loss; many lives had been lost, and much blood spilt, yet no account of the loss, or fatal slaughter, had appeared in the returns on the table.

Mr. Bailey.

Mr. *Bailey* moved, that a copy of the address and petition from the council and assembly of Jamaica might be laid before the House, with the minutes taken by the assembly, respecting the distresses that island suffered from American privateers. He said, his reasons for calling for these papers were, to shew, that although this nation was at a vast expence in sending a large squadron to its colonies, they received very little benefit from it, except that of convoys; for that the admirals employed the men of war chiefly in cruizing for prizes, to enrich themselves, without paying the least

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least regard to any complaints from the inhabitants, of the damage they daily receive on the coast, and in their very ports, from privateers; and it would also appear, by these minutes, that the admiral had declared, in a letter there set forth, that he had acted according to orders he had received from the ministry, which orders he should implicitly obey: these being his very words. He observed, that though ministry had not attended to the protection of that very distressed island, yet they did not appear at all unmindful of their own private interest; for he found that, within these few weeks, Lord George Germaine had given his aid de camp, at the battle of Minden, or his brother Colonel Smith, the command of a fort in that island, worth 1000l. a year, which, to his knowledge, was now hawked about town to be rented to the highest bidder. He also remarked, that the noble Lord had appointed a Master Sackville Germaine to a much more profitable place there, that of receiver-general of the whole island; and this, he said, was an office of more profit and trust than perhaps the House was aware of; for, besides an allowance of five per cent. on all the public money raised, which was seldom less than fifty or sixty thousand pounds a year, there were still other advantages, and often excessive abuses; that therefore he, as a proprietor of some property in that island, could not help feeling himself rather uneasy; for, whatever abuse might be committed, it would be very difficult to call an officer to any account, who had such powerful friends here to defend him; besides, that all the patentees of places in the colonies never failed to join their interest in defending each other's place, in case of complaints; and those were well known to be a very powerful body, both in the House and out of it.

After some debate, the motion was agreed to.

The following is a copy of the address and petition.

Jamaica. ss.

To the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

The humble Address and Petition of the Council and Assembly of Jamaica.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the council and assembly, beg leave most humbly to approach the royal presence, to express our warmest attachment to your sacred person, and return our sincere thanks for your Majesty's

sty's paternal care of this island, by continuing a Lieutenant-Governor to preside over us, who is justly endeared to this country by his zeal in your Majesty's service, and by his abilities, assiduously exerted, to fill every department of administration, with advantage both to your crown and people.

Permit us, Sire, humbly to lay at the feet of the throne, the defenceless state of the commerce and sea-coast of this island, which for some time past has been exposed to the insults of your Majesty's enemies, the American privateers, who have not only taken several ships upon our coast, but have dared to enter our ports, and cut out some vessels from their moorings in sight of the inhabitants; whereby many parts of the island have been much distressed, and the coasts exposed to continual alarm. We therefore, with that confidence which we entertain from your Majesty's attention to the interest and petitions of your people, in every part of your dominions, most humbly and earnestly pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order the commander of your Majesty's squadron on this station, to keep a sufficient number of armed vessels constantly cruising about this island, for the protection of the coast and trade thereof; or to direct such other remedy for our security, as your Majesty shall, in your royal wisdom, think necessary.

That the Supreme Director of all events may long preserve your Majesty, and all the royal family, in the full enjoyment of every felicity; and that there never may be wanting a Prince of the illustrious House of Hanover to reign over the whole British empire, is the ardent wish and prayer of your Majesty's loyal Council and Assembly, animated by the most zealous attachment to the best of Kings, the father and protector of a grateful and affectionate people.

Passed the Assembly this 21st

day of November, 1777. (Signed) P. PENNOCK, Speaker.

Passed the Council this 21st

day of November, 1777. (Signed) R. D. LEWING, Clerk Council.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox, after a genteel apology for the trouble he was going to give the House, and his own personal good-fortune in having his audience reduced, * being persuaded he should not have answered the great expectations which had brought them there, stated the motion he was going to make, and the grounds of it, in the following, but much more full, correct, elegant and energetic manner.---Sir, I mean to-day to enter

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* The House was cleared.

only into the small part of the business, which I hope will undergo the consideration of this Committee, a Committee, Sir, appointed for the important purpose of considering the present state of the nation. I must, however, beg not to be considered as the mover in this momentous concern; the nation calls for this enquiry, and I am only one instrument in the bringing it about. What I have to beg of the House, is not to mix this day's business with any thing that has passed before, but to go plainly and directly to the business, to consider what is the actual state of this country, and how Great-Britain can be saved from the critical situation in which it now stands.---And in considering the subject, I would wish all gentlemen would agree with me at least so far, in divesting themselves of all former opinions, of all favourite ideas, and of all prejudices that may have been contracted, and take them up again only as they are the result of the present enquiry, and the fair deductions from the information now conveyed to the House.---I would wish gentlemen to forget their enmities and animosities, and consider themselves neither as friends nor enemies to America, nor that country either with love or hatred, but regard it with a calm and dispassionate mind, as a part, and a very considerable part, of the British empire.

Sir, the method I had chalked out to myself, as the most likely way to bring men to a right understanding of the state of the nation, and to shew what conduct it is our interest in future to maintain, was to state facts as they appear from the papers on the table; first with respect to the army: that in the years 1774, 5, 6 and 7, there was such an army, consisting of so many thousand men, and that such and such operations were performed; I should, secondly, state the impossibility of encreasing that army; and, thirdly, the enormous expence that is already incurred.

The resources in men and money thus failing us, the conclusion naturally is, that there must be some sort of negotiation, and in this part of the business I cannot too much lament my motion for papers relating to what has already passed on this subject was rejected. This would have enabled the House to judge of the impediments that have hitherto prevented such negotiations from taking place, and to provide some adequate remedy. After having stated these facts, and drawn this conclusion, which, I think, may fairly be deduced from them, I shall go retrospectively, and shew that the war has been mismanaged, even on the principles of those who

undertook it. It will be then a proper time to look back' and see to what our want of success has been owing, as I believe I may lay it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that when a country falls, within the short space of a few years, from the very highest pinnacle of glory to which any country, either in antient or modern times, ever arrived; that there must have been some radical error in the government of it: though at the same time I will allow, that if it should turn out there is a radical error, it is not of itself a proof of the criminality of ministers. I am inclined to think, that there has been a radical error in carrying on the war at all, and likewise that there have been errors equally great in the conduct of it. Sir, I shall not now enter into any more of the proceedings relative to America, than is necessary to shew the immediate steps which have brought us into our present situation. Without discussing the various questions which have been for many years agitated in Parliament, I shall take up the measures relative to America in the year 1774, when the riots at Boston first called for the attention of this House; papers were indeed called for and granted, but there were some things that tended that year to shut the eyes of ministers upon the true state of that country, and the true interest of this, which was to prevent, rather than stimulate and increase the general discontents in the colonies; every body must allow, the agreement with the East-India Company was a most unfortunate one, and the immediate source of all the troubles that have since followed; every body knows what happened. Here began a capital mistake of the ministry; they mistook a single province for a whole continent; they mistook the Massachusetts-Bay for the American empire. Virginia, a colony no less jealous of its rights, nor less warm in its assertion of them, was entirely forgot; it was not thought possible that any other colony should unite with the Massachusetts; now whoever fights against ten men, and thinks he is contending only with one, will meet with much more difficulties than if he was aware of the force brought against him; for I believe I may lay it down as an undoubted maxim in politics, that every attempt to crush an insurrection with means inadequate to the end, foment instead of suppressing it. The case here was, you took a great object for a small one, you took thirteen provinces for one; and not only that, but imagined the other twelve were with you, when the very act you was then doing made those twelve equally hostile; for another misfortune at this time

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was the taking a violent step against the town of Boston: if America was not before sufficiently united in a determined resistance to the claims of this country, this made all America combined; they were all from that moment united with the town of Boston, which might have been before the object of the jealousy of the rest. Another mistake was the altering the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, whereas the acts of all the other colonies, as well as this, plainly shewed it was not the form of government in that province, that occasioned the commotions there, because other provinces, which depended more on the Crown, and which have the appellation of royal governments, were not less early or less vigorous in their opposition and resistance.--- Now, Sir, if the form of this government was not itself the cause of the troubles in that country, then the alarm given by the alteration of that government was certainly a most capital mistake, because it gave the whole continent reason to think and to fear, that they had no security in the permanency of their government, but that it was liable to be altered or subverted at our pleasure on any cause of complaint, whether real or supposed; their natural jealousies were awakened; by the same reasoning, the governments of the other colonies, tho' much more dependent on the Crown, might be rendered entirely despotic, and they were all from thence taught to consider the town of Boston, as suffering in the common cause, and that they might very soon stand in need of that assistance which they were now lending to that unfortunate town.

But there was another circumstance which tended to mislead the House, and for which the ministers and not the House were entirely to blame, and this was the partial manner in which they laid papers before the House; they laid the accounts of facts, but no opinions of people upon the spot as to the extent of the resistance, the temper of the people, or any other circumstance concerning it. Now, Sir, if men are endued with passions, if they are not mere machines, knowing facts is knowing nothing, without knowing the springs and motives from whence such actions proceeded. Suppose, for instance, a person in a distant country had no other way of judging of the temper of this House, and of the motives of their conduct, but from the printed votes of this House, Sir, [Here a great laugh] could such a man form any judgment of the reasons why such a line of conduct was approved, and why such a one was rejected? Sir, it would be ridiculous in the extreme to suppose it. Now, Sir, I will venture to affirm,

that this House was not in the year 1774 informed of the spirit of opposition there was in America, and of their prejudices against taxation. If they had, I should hope they would have thought it wise, if not just, to have applied such remedies as might have healed rather than irritated the distemper. But instead of any thing of this sort, other bills were immediately past shewing that all was of a hostile nature, and that nothing was to be expected from this country but coercion and punishment, particularly the act, as it is called, for the more impartial administration of justice; I mean the act for sending over persons to be tried here in England. This gave the idea of a great and effective army, and as a provision for the consequences of much bloodshed and slaughter. And after all what an army was sent? As that act excited terror as well as indignation at our injustice, so the army that was sent excited their derision, without at all lessening their resentment. It taught them to deride the power of this country, as much as they abhorred its injustice. But as if all this was not sufficient to irritate and provoke, the Quebec act was passed, the contents of which every body knows. The principal purpose of this act was to form a great interest in Canada, to be a perpetual check upon the southern provinces, and to keep them in awe; it was considered in this light in America, and was held up by the violent party in America, as a specimen of the form of government that might be introduced and established in every part of that continent. Hardly any man after this would say a word in favour of the British legislature; every remaining friend to government, as he was called; that is, every man less violent than the most violent, had nothing to say in favour of the good intention of the mother country. After this act passed, it put an unanswerable argument in the mouths of all parties, that the intentions of Great-Britain were vindictive in the extreme. The makers of the Quebec act, whoever they were, thus became the friends to the violent party in America. If they had not thus seasonably interposed, there was a chance of America's being divided, or at least of there being different degrees of resistance in its colonies. This made them all not only more firmly united, but equally zealous and animated, equally determined to go all lengths rather than submit. Now, Sir, the passing of that act at that time had the same effect that, for instance, the repeal of the test act would have had in King William's time; for however great a friend I am to universal toleration, I should certainly have been against it at that time, because it

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would have disobliged one party, more than it would have served another; it would have joined a great body of Tories to the enemies of the Revolution, which were already sufficiently numerous. From the moment, Sir, this Quebec act passed, there was only one party in America; it stopt the mouths of the moderate party, if any such were still left.

Another extraordinary idea, Sir, was at this time taken up, namely, that the coercive acts passed in that session would execute themselves; the only argument in favour of the minister on this head is, that they thought the army there sufficiently strong to enforce the execution of these acts. This is another instance in which the Parliament confided absolutely in ministers, as I allow must sometimes be the case; it may not be fit on all occasions for Parliament to know, while an important business is in execution, every step and every particular; there must be a certain degree of confidence reposed in ministers, that confidence was reposed here, and ministry are therefore answerable if it should appear that they have abused it.---Sir, in 1775, ministers began to be afraid, that more ill consequences might follow; they then found, for the first time, that the cause of Boston was the cause of America; they therefore passed more laws, and sent out a capital reinforcement with three able generals. The Americans, on the other hand, became still more united; the name of a party was however still kept up, and notwithstanding all the violent measures of this country, and the armies that were sent out for the purpose of supporting the friends of government, the Tories, as they were called, and punishing the Whigs, yet the Tories suffered more than the Whigs, their friends more than their enemies.---But as if all this was not enough to exasperate and to prove they had no resource left but in self-defence, we rejected, before the end of the session of 1775, the petition from New-York, drawn up in the most affectionate and respectful terms that could be, considering the state of the contest; this was the last effort of the moderate party, your own friends, who were told, on the news going back to America: "You see what dependence is to be put in Great-Britain; how will she treat us, when she has thus treated you?"—Sir, a few weeks before the arrival of the reinforcement, the civil war began. Then followed the battle of Bunker's-Hill. This ought at least to have been a lesson to the ministry, that America was unanimous and determined to put every thing at stake.—Sir, there is one circumstance I omitted to mention in its place, and that is the conciliatory

ciliatory proposition of the noble Lord; I need not go into this now, it has been often considered, and without saying any thing more about it at this time, I will only say what every body must allow, that this House was left to judge of the *quantum*, which was one of the very principal objections urged by the Americans, that they did not know how far this claim of ours might extend; it was in fact not only asserting the right, but establishing it in practice—Now, Sir, I beg leave to stop here for a moment, and ask this question, Does any man seriously think it better to give up America altogether, unless we can exercise the right of taxation in the uncontrouled and unlimited manner in which we claim it?

Mr. Fox then ran over the various operations of the army in America, after the arrival of the troops—their being cooped up in Boston, to their being obliged ultimately to leave it, &c.

And then described the conduct of America, What, says he, was the language of America at this time? They send a petition to this country, couched in the most respectful terms, disclaiming every idea of independence, which had been, in the course of the preceding sessions, objected to their conduct, and desiring no concession that would be in the least dishonourable to the mother country, but supplicating his Majesty that he would be pleased to point out some mode.

How was this petition received, and what was the answer? All that was said, was, To this petition no answer will be given. But the ministry gave out, the petition was all a farce, the Americans want independence. If this had been really the case, which I in my conscience do not believe was the case at that time, what occasion was there for saying so? Why not have tried the experiment, and by this means have shewed to all the world the unreasonableness of your enemies and your own moderation? Suppose, for instance, you had been treating with Lewis XIV. who, every body allows, aimed at universal monarchy; suppose you had been treating with him about a petty town in Flanders, would you have told him; Ay, it is impossible to treat with you, you aim at universal monarchy, you never mean to give up this town, for you'll not be contented till you get them all. But, Sir, least of all should this have been objected by those who say the government have a great party in America; that the friends to British government are still numerous and powerful there; these arguments militate against each other. If independence was a popular pretension in America, why should America have

have unnecessarily disclaimed it? Yes, but it is said, it was meant to deceive America---why, then if it was necessary to deceive America, she did not mean independence, otherwise it would have been deceiving her into the belief of a thing, which she did not approve. But if America was averse to independence, was it not worth while to try pacific measures?

Instead however, Sir, of any thing of this sort, a change of administration at this time took place, which plainly shewed there was no chance left but in war; and now, for the first time, Sir (I allow it) real vigorous measures were adopted; the whole force of this country was to be exerted, every nerve was to be strained. The first event however, of this campaign, I mentioned it before, was General Howe's being drove out of Boston; and now, Sir, only to shew the versatility of some people, and as one instance how ready men who caused all these calamities, are to adapt themselves to the unfortunate consequences of their own conduct, as soon as the news came over of General Howe's evacuating Boston, they congratulated each other on the event, they were glad of it, it was a lucky step, though, by the bye, there is still the greatest reason to believe, it was matter of necessity, not of choice. 55,000 men had been voted; Sir William Howe's army was compleatly reinforced. Every body knows what passed. He makes himself master of Long-Island; he takes New-York, &c. &c. Here were two or three battles gained, here was a sort of victory, though not an absolute extinction of the enemy's army. What followed? All promises of taking the moment of victory for proposing terms of accommodation were forgot. But this was the moment in which the Americans declared themselves independent states. Did this look like a termination of the contest? If it did, there was a circumstance that passed in the latter end of the year 1776, from which you might at last have learnt it was impossible to reduce them by mere force. I mean the affair at Trenton. The sudden manner in which this army was gathered together, the success that attended it from the nature of the country, plainly shewed it was impossible entirely to reduce them. But to shew the deafness of administration to every proof of the true disposition of America, and to shew likewise the uniform conduct of gentlemen on this side of the House, a motion was made in the latter end of the year 1776 for a revision of the laws by which the Americans might think themselves aggrieved. To revise the acts that had been passed
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was surely as gentle a word as could be made use of, and indeed was the expression made use of by the commissioners themselves in a proclamation they issued in America. I need not say, Sir, this motion was, for various reasons, but without one solid argument, rejected.

Sir, as to the events of the last campaign I shall touch them very slightly. It is sufficient to say, no decisive stroke has been given. We have got possession of three towns instead of one, but of no more extent of country than is just within a small circuit round those towns. With regard to General Burgoyne's expedition, I will only say,---that it failed. The expedition itself is of such a dye that it deserves a separate consideration. It should be reserved to itself.

Sir, after having passed resolutions concerning the various facts and events during the period I have been describing, the House will naturally form an opinion concerning their future conduct, and I shall then ask whether any man can imagine it is possible to go on with an offensive war? If it should appear, that all means are inadequate to the conquering them, and that the having gone on so far has shaken the credit of the nation, more than it was shaken at the end of a six year's war with France, then it will be for the House to consider what is to be done in the present moment: it seems to me that the inference will be, that force alone is not sufficient, and that we must call in negotiation to its aid. But, Sir, this is a subsequent consideration. Another question likewise with regard to the alliances of this country. If it shall appear that we are strong in alliances, then it is very true we may venture somewhat further than we might otherwise venture. This is a very proper thing to be considered.

Sir, I set out with acquainting the House, that I meant to-day to begin with a very short part of the business; it is only to draw an inference from the papers on the table, that in the present situation of things it will be very imprudent to send any more troops out of the kingdom. The peace establishment of troops in Great-Britain has been 17,000. Now, Sir, I don't mean by what I say to approve of that establishment. I think it too high; but such it has been of late years; 17,000 for Great-Britain; 12,000 for Ireland; 3500 for Gibraltar, and 2300 for Minorca. These make altogether 34800. This is the establishment in times of profound peace. But various reasons conspire to make us apprehensive of war; the conduct of France, the state of public credit, his Majesty's speech at the opening of the sessions is alone sufficient

ficient to prove there is the greatest reason to prepare for a foreign war. Now, Sir, if 34,000 men are necessary to be kept up in time of peace, I think no gentleman can be of opinion, we should have less than that number at the present moment. Mr. Fox then shewed very clearly from the papers on the table, that the number of the troops now in Great-Britain, including the officers, non-effective, &c. did not exceed 15,000; in Ireland 8000, in Gibraltar and Minorca 5000; so that there was now an actual deficiency of the peace-establishment 6000. I think, Sir, it appears from this it would be madness to part with any more of our army. As to the new levies, I don't now consider whether the levying them without the approbation of Parliament, be legal and constitutional; that will be to be considered another day; but I speak now on a supposition of their being levied. And if they are, I should hope it is not intended, that the safety of this country is to be left to their defence.

On the whole, Sir, it appears to me that if gentlemen are not blind, they will see the war is impracticable, and that no good will come from force only; that the lives that have been lost, and the treasures that have been wasted, have been wasted to no purpose; that it is high time we should look to our own situation, and not leave ourselves defenceless upon an idea of strengthening the army in America, when after all it will be less strong than it was last year, which produced nothing decisive, or in the least tending to compleat conquest.

Mr. Fox concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that no more of the old corps be sent out of the kingdom."

No answer was made.

The question was called for, and the House divided; For the question, 165; Against it 259.

The following is a List of the Minority in this Division.

James Adair
Benjamin Allen
Eve. Anderson
Fr. Annesley
George Anson
General Acourt
Vol. VIII.

J. Aubrey
William Baker
Rt. Hon. Isaac Barré
Charles Barrow
Nathaniel Bailey
Richard Benyon

X x

Hon.

Hon. Per. Bertie
 Richard Wilbr. Bootle
 Hon. W. H. Bouverie
 Frederick Bull
 Sir Charles Bunbury
 Edmund Burke
 Lord G. Cavendish
 Lord F. Cavendish
 Lord J. Cavendish
 Lord R. Cavendish
 Lord G. H. Cavendish
 Jerv. Clarke
 Sir P. Jennings Clerke
 Sir R. Clayton
 T. W. Coke
 Daniel P. Coke
 J. Cooper
 Thomas Conolly
 Right Hon. H. S. Conway
 Henry Cruger
 J. Corbet
 J. Crewe
 J. Darker
 Sir C. Davers
 Hen. Dawkins
 William Drake, junr
 J. Dunning
 Edward Elliot
 Paul Feilde
 Sav. Finch
 Sir Michael Fleming
 Henry Fletcher
 Thomas Fonnerau
 Hon. C. Fox
 Thomas Frankland
 Edward Gibbon
 John Glynn
 Ambrose Goddard
 Lord G. Gordon
 Ralph Gowland
 Marquis of Granby
 Robert Gregory
 George Grenville
 James Grenville

Hon. Booth Grey
 Sir J. Griffin Griffin
 Sir William Guise
 Thomas Halfey
 James Halliday
 Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton
 J. Hanbury
 David Hartley
 H. W. Hartley
 T. Hay
 G. Hayley
 Sir Charles Holte
 Philip Honeywood
 Film. Honeywood
 Richard Hopkins
 Hon. T. Howard
 J. P. Hungerford
 G. Hunt
 William Hufley
 G. Johnstone
 J. Johnstone
 Lord Irnham
 Hon. Aug. Keppel
 Hon William Keppel
 Lucy Knightley
 William Lawrence
 Sir William Lemon
 Lord G. Lennox
 Benjamin Lethieullier
 T. Lister
 Sir James Lowther
 James Lowther
 Earl Ludlow
 J. Luther
 Hon. T. Luttrell
 Hon. James Luttrell
 William Lygon
 James Martin
 Joshua Maugur
 Sir Joseph Mawbey
 Sir W. Meredith
 Sir W. Middleton
 Viscount Midleton
 Sir T. Miller

A. 1778.

D E B A T E S.

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Richard Milles
Crisp. Molineux
Hon. J. Montagu
Frederick Montagu
Edward Morant
H. W. Mortimer
Sir R. Mostyn
G. L. Newenham
Richard Oliver
William Mostyn Owen
J. Parker
Henry Peirse
C. A. Pelham
Richard Pennant
Sir James Pennyman
Charles Penruddock
William Plumer
Nathaniel Polhill
Alexander Popham
Thomas Powys
Philip Rashleigh
Sir M. W. Ridley
Sir G. Robinson
T. B. Rous
Sir J. Rushout
Samuel Salt
Sir G. Savile
John Sawbridge
James Scawen
Robert Scott
Sir C. Sedley
T. G. Skipwith
Frederick Standert

Walter Spen. Stanhope
T. Staunton
G. Sutton
J. Tempest
B. Thompson
J. Thoroton
Hon. William Tollemache
Right Hon. T. Townshend
J. Trevannion
C. F. Tufnell
Charles Turner
Earl of Tyrconnel
Sir G. W. Van Neck
Ev. L. Vaughan
Earl Verney
Hon. G. V. Vernon
Earl of Upper Ossory
Sir William Wake
Hon. T. Walpole
Hon. R. Walpole
Hon. R. B. Walsingham
Hon. L. M. Watson
William Weddell
Viscount Wenman
T. Whitmore
John Wilkes
Pinckney Wilkinson
J. Wilkinson
J. E. Wilmot
Sir C. Wray
Sir G. Yonge
G. Byng, *Teller.**

February 3.

No debate.

February 4.

The House in committee. Lord *Barrington* moved, that Lord *Bar.* 286,632l. 14s. 6d. be allowed for cloathing the new corps *ringtons.* from January 1, 1778, to January 1, 1779.

* Of the sixty-two English county members present at this division, thirty-nine of them voted in the minority.

Sir P. Jennings Clerke.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said, if he was as well convinced of the necessity and good policy of continuing the American war, as the most zealous friend to administration appeared to be, he would not sit there and consent to measures to carry it on, which he thought were totally subversive of the fundamental principles of the constitution. He had been ever taught to think, that freedom and a security of property were blessings which an Englishman enjoyed in a much greater degree than the inhabitants of any other country. He therefore could never persuade himself to think, there was a power in the crown to raise an army in this country, to any extent it pleased, without the previous communication and assent of Parliament. That power which could raise a thousand, might raise an hundred thousand; and then that liberty which we so much boast of, which was obtained by the blood of our ancestors, which we wish to transmit to our posterity, becomes at once a name only, a phantom, and an empty shadow; for whenever a bad King ascended the throne, it would be in his power to take it away from us. He thanked God we had a good King, we were in no danger at present; but it was our duty to guard against evils, which might arise hereafter. He referred to the preamble of the mutiny act, which says, that the King shall not raise an army in time of peace. He left the House to decide, whether this was war or not. He thought himself, a revolt of the colonies three thousand miles distant, could hardly be called a war here. He knew, he said, he should be told, that no danger could be incurred to the stocks from such a power being in the hands of the crown; for though the King might raise an army, the Parliament must pay them; without which assistance they could not have any effect. That being admitted, he thought a very dangerous method had now been adopted, by encouraging private subscription, to be disposed of according to the direction of the crown; by which means an army might be raised and paid, and the Parliament deprived of the controuling power, which was the great security of the liberty of the subject. In the present case, with the help of those quick subscriptions, a large Scotch army might have marched to Derby, without Parliament being acquainted that such an army existed in the kingdom.

He said, the species of army was liable to great exceptions in a constitutional light; it was too national. Nine or ten thousand men, all of any one country, was very exceptionable. He wished to avoid national reflections, but he thought too
great

great a partiality was shewn to the people of Scotland. The noble Lord [meaning Lord North] had said, will you punish the children of the fathers unto the third and fourth generation? He said, by no means. But he could not think that those who on former occasions, had shewn no good-will to this country, were of all others the most fit to be trusted. He was ever averse to punishments, but could distinguish between very uncommon benefits which were now conferred on them, and punishments. When he considered the appointment in a military view, it appeared to him an imposition on the public, and an injury to the army. Rank has been given to officers in a most unprecedented manner; gentlemen have been appointed to command regiments with the rank of Colonel, who never were in the service before, to the great injury and discouragement of all the officers in the army. If it was necessary to give such advantages, he thought that there were many young people of noble families in this country, who had with great zeal and spirit engaged in the service, who had suffered hardships and inconveniencies, and risked their lives in a foreign country. He thought they had at least as good a title to such preference, as those who had obtained it; and he could not help saying, he wished they had been so considered, as those who were most interested in the state, were most likely to take proper care of it. If the army wanted an augmentation, the most economical as well as useful method to do it, was to augment your old corps. The companies which now consist of only fifty-five, ought to be increased to one hundred, as was done in the last war; by which means you added only one subaltern officer, and consequently made little addition to the half-pay list. It was not necessary for any man to be an officer to discover that three hundred men, added to an established corps, will much sooner be made good soldiers, than a number of raw undisciplined men together, all unacquainted with arms. He could not help observing, that there was one gentleman who had a regiment given him, who was taken from the Swedish service, and never was in our army. He knew not what his pretensions were, but he knew such an appointment must give great dissatisfaction, and be a great injury to every officer now in the service, who was under the rank of Colonel. If ten new regiments were to have been raised, it would have been justice to have offered them to the ten oldest lieutenant-colonels in the army. He would venture to say, that they would any of them not only have gladly embraced the offer of raising regiments on the terms
now

now given to the present gentlemen, but have given several thousand pounds each for the opportunity : for the appointment of the officers to a whole regiment now given them, is worth a very large sum of money, if the commissions are sold, and he did not expect many presents would be made. He could make, he said, many more objections, but he had troubled the House too long already ; he would only therefore, before he sat down, enter his protest against every part of the appointment.

Lord Barrington.

Lord *Barrington* said, after administration had heard of the disaster which happened to the army, under General Burgoyne, they turned their thoughts to the devising the most speedy and effectual means for augmenting our forces, preparatory to the next campaign ; and an offer having been made by several respectable individuals and others, without any application whatever, on the part of ministers, it was thought prudent to accept of those offers. Manchester, and some other trading towns took an early part, as well as some noblemen and gentlemen from the northern parts of the kingdom ; the Highlands in particular distinguished itself, where his Lordship particularly observed, the women are more fruitful than the soil. He said, there could be no occasion for reminding the House, that several regiments, independent companies, and corps, were raised there the late war, when two great ministers presided in this country. One in this House, and one in the other. That great man, Lord Hardwick, then assisted in the councils of this country, and he highly approved of procuring men from that part of the kingdom ; and if a contrary opinion had prevailed, he was satisfied, that our armies could never have been recruited, nor our successes been so great or decisive, if it were not for the great resources drawn from that country. As to the allusion made by the honourable gentleman, of the colonel, who had served in Sweden, he presumed he pointed to Mr. M'Kenzie, commonly called Lord M'Cleod, [son to the late Lord Cromartie, one of the rebel lords.] He had a regiment in the Swedish service, and the rank of general in it ; consequently he must have a regiment, or nothing.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* began with explaining the common law, as it stood before any mercenary soldiers were raised, and kept up in time of peace, unless such as were obliged to perform certain services arising from the nature of their tenures, and concluded with the mutiny act ; in the course of which investigation, he proved that there was not the most faint colour

colour of constitutional or statute law, nor even of usurped prerogative, for making levies without the consent, and during the sitting of Parliament.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he was sorry to find, that a greater trust had been put of late years in Scotch soldiers and Scotch statesmen than in English. Sir *George Yonge*.

Mr. *Attorney General*, [Mr. Thurlow] in reply to Mr. *Dunning*, rested his arguments on precedents. He particularly dwelt on what happened in 1745, of the subscriptions set on foot at that time; and several others of a similar nature, during the late war. He said, the Bill of Rights law spoke for itself, and was conditional; and the Mutiny Act was regulating, not restrictive. If it was not, it would be the most dangerous law that ever was enacted; for it must be construed so as to tie up the King's hands, let the exigencies of the times, or the necessities of the state be what it may. Mr. *Attorney General*.

Mr. *Fox* contended, that the indubitable consequence of legalizing private donations for raising of troops, must certainly justify the maintaining them, on grounds equally cogent; for who could draw a line, or how was it possible to know whether the money was for the purposes it was pretended to be employed? In such a case, it would be in the power of a bad King and a bad Parliament to lay out the money thus raised as they might think proper, till the mischief was so effectually completed as to be beyond remedy. Mr. *Fox*.

Mr. *Van* in a long speech caused much mirth in the beginning, and entertained the House with a long comparison between Britain and Rome, America and Carthage, and concluded with asserting, that whatever opposition might be individually without, they were, as a party, rank ideots within doors. He compared some of their leaders to Hannibal, and predicted their fate to be similar to that famous General's, who vowed to the destruction of Rome, and who fell in the impious attempt. Mr. *Van*.

Mr. *Solicitor General* [Mr. Wedderburne] contended, that contributions really voluntary, were legal. Mr. *Solicitor General*.

Mr. *Byng* said he was always ready to give every merit to the two learned gentlemen, who endeavoured to prove the legality of the measure; but when they forgot their profession so far as to attempt to explain away not only the import, but to contradict the letter of an unrepealed act of Parliament, their authority, with him, however respectable it might appear to others, was at end. He said, he presumed after sixteen

sixteen years experience, but more particularly made visible on the present occasion, it would be no longer doubted, that the people born on the other side of the Tweed had a preference shewn to them, both in civil and military preferment, but more especially in the latter. He observed great zeal had been imputed to those who had subscribed; but he begged leave to differ as to the conclusion. He doubted not the fact, that the subscriptions were carried on with great zeal, but what kind of zeal? A zeal for obtaining favours of various kinds. One gentleman or person of distinction, subscribed in expectation of future notice from the governing powers. Another had a commission in view for a son, a friend, or a dependent. Then, as for the whole tribe of contractors, &c, it might be easily guessed what their zeal proceeded from. If one man subscribes 200l. and by that obtains a company, he will pocket 600l. If a merchant or rich manufacturer subscribes a like sum, and gets in return a contract, or any other douceur to ten times the amount, then surely it will not be said that he makes an unprofitable bargain. This is the public spirit of the subscription; the real object of which is, a job. He said, if a person was to converse with the gentlemen out doors, who constitute the present majority, they breathe nothing but sentiments of peace and conciliation; but as soon as ever they are embodied within these walls, they call out for war, coercion, and unconditional submission. He concluded with observing, that all was public spirit in debate; but he did not hear that a single placeman in these times of exigency and public calamity, had given up the emoluments of his place or office, in order to lighten the burdens of his country.

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* was severe on the partiality shewn to the Scotch in every thing, and condemned, in a particular manner, the singular impropriety of calling upon an officer in a foreign service, and contrary to every rule of the profession, putting him over the heads of so deserving a body of men as the lieutenant-colonels of the army, and those gentlemen who bore the rank of colonels, but had no regiments; particularly, when the person thus distinguished, never bore arms in this kingdom, but against the lawful sovereign, and in order to overturn the constitution.

Mr. Dundas.

Mr. *Dundas* [Lord Advocate of Scotland] told the House, that the officer mentioned to have been brought from the Swedish service, was Lord M'Cleod, who was a son of Lord Cromartie, who was ordered to be beheaded after the last rebellion;

bellion; that this young man was also in the rebellion, being only eighteen years old; that he had been pardoned, but losing his estate, was obliged to live abroad ever since.

The question being put, the committee divided; ayes 223, noes 130.

February 5.

The report of the committee of supply for the new levies.

Mr. Popham opposed the bringing up the report, contend-
ing upon the law argument, that the manner in which the
troops had been raised, was unconstitutional and illegal. Mr. Popham.

Mr. Turner spoke next, declaring that his life and fortune
should ever be devoted to his Majesty's person and govern-
ment, because he thought it impossible that a prince of the
House of Hanover should ever become hostile to liberty, or
violate the laws and constitution in any shape whatever. Mr. Turner.

Mr. Rous thought the subscriptions illegal, but that the
rebellion ought to be quelled by any means whatever; he
should therefore vote for the supply of the levies, though
raised against law. Mr. Rous.

Mr. Wallace said, that though, to be sure, it was against
law for the King to levy money, yet it was perfectly conso-
nant to law for his Majesty to get money levied for him. Mr. Wal-
lace.

Lord Frederick Campbell maintained, that the principles of
his family were always those of whigism; and he thought
subscriptions for quelling the American rebellion perfectly
consistent with Whigish principles. Lord Fred.
Campbell.

Mr. Moysey declared himself satisfied of the legality of such
subscriptions, being, as they were, purely voluntary; that Lord
Coke's opinion was clearly in their favour, as appears by his
reading upon the statute of Rich. 3. where he makes the di-
stinction between voluntary and involuntary contributions, in
his chapter of Benevolences, which had not been taken notice
of. That the commission authorized by the statute of Cha. 2.
so much relied on by the other side, was compulsory in its na-
ture, as appears by the proceedings under such commissions in
the time of Charles I. and in particular by the description gi-
ven of them by Sir John Elliot, in his famous petition to the
King from the Gatehouse, in 1626; that the terms of the act
of Charles II. prove compulsion, for the words, "supplies
hereby granted," are irreconcilable to any other construc-
tion, and are of themselves decisive of the question; for if the
money thereby raised was purely spontaneous on the part of
the people, the Commons in Parliament, in such case, granted
nothing;

nothing; nor was the King sure of receiving a single farthing under such act of Parliament.

Governor
Johnstone.

Governor *Johnstone* contended for the illegality of the subscription; expatiated on the injustice the old officers must sustain, by having so many young ones put over their heads; and that in the same proportion as the new levies were raised, the recruiting service, as to the old regiments, must be prejudiced. He particularly lamented, that so vast a proportion of these new levies was to be raised in Scotland, because the country must be stripped of its most useful hands for agriculture, and for commerce.

Ld. *North.*

Lord *North* contended, that the present subscriptions were no more than had been practised in all times of public emergency, particularly in 1745, and in 1759, in Mr. Pitt's administration, when the new levies were raised by private subscription; and the subscribers, instead of being treated as violators of the law, were publicly and solemnly thanked by the then minister, Lord Chatham, and applauded by the public. He averred, that no influence whatsoever had been used, but that the offers all came as the spontaneous and generous effusions of love and loyalty to the King, and as a testimony of their zeal to support the legislature of Great Britain against the rebellion in America.

Sir *William*
Meredith.

Sir *William Meredith* replied to Lord North, that it was unjust to give any sanction to his own administration, at the expence of the reputation of another; that Lord Chatham's conduct, which he represented to be the same as his own, was nothing like it; that the subscriptions then were to raise recruits for old regiments which had suffered in the wars; which had been raised under the authority of Parliament, approved, voted, and for a long time paid by Parliament: whereas, in the present case, both the money had been levied, and the troops raised, during the sitting of Parliament, without the consent, knowledge, or any communication with Parliament whatever; that the precedent for his Lordship's conduct might be drawn with more correctness from that of James the Second, who, on the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West, had adjourned the Parliament, for the very purpose of levying the troops himself, without the interference of Parliament, in order to chuse such as were most attached to his person, and most likely to serve his purposes. He then went through the history of all benevolences, from the reign of Edward the Fourth, when they began, to the present time; that they had been suppressed by two acts of Parliament, which are

now

now in force, and had been treated as unconstitutional always, particularly in the reign of James the First, when the King attempted to raise a subscription in a manner exactly similar to the present; namely, by sending certain of his confidential servants to different parts of the kingdom to raise spontaneous and voluntary subscriptions, unaccompanied with any circumstance of force whatever. Mr. St. John, who was esteemed the best constitutional lawyer in the kingdom, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice, opposed those subscriptions with great vehemence, and declared, that the attempt to get money for the King's use in that way, was a breach of his Majesty's coronation oath, and an abetting of perjury, in all those who subscribed. He said it was a mark for a Bolingbroke, and a match for Richard the Second. Mr. St. John was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and acquitted; so that there is the judgment of the Star Chamber itself, the most arbitrary and the most tyrannous court that ever existed, that resistance to such subscriptions, by any means, or in any language, is not reprehensible; which opinion they could never have entertained, had they judged the subscriptions themselves to have been legal.

Mr. *Gascoyne* was entering into some personal invective against Sir William Meredith, but the Speaker stopped him, which Sir William Meredith, in reply, said he was sorry for; because the more that honourable gentleman abused him, the better he thought of himself; that the effusions of his eloquence were incapable of the guilt of slander; they were, on the contrary, satisfactory and reputable.

The question was called for, and the House divided; for agreeing with the report 223, against it 130.*

February 6.

Mr. *Burke* moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House copies of all papers that have passed between any of his Majesty's ministers, and the generals of his armies in America, or any person acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians of America, in the present civil war,

* So large a minority upon a question of supply was thought extraordinary, it having been commonly observed, that questions of supply are usually carried unanimously, or but weakly resisted.

from the first of March, 1774, to the first day of January, 1778."

Mr. Burke began by observing, that one of the grand objects in the enquiry into the state of the nation, was the condition and quality of the troops employed in America. That an account of the King's regular forces, and those of his European allies, were upon the table. That hitherto no account had appeared of his irregular forces, those in particular of his savage allies; although there had been great dependence upon them, and that they were obtained at a great expence. That it was necessary to examine into this point; because an extention of their mode of making war had been lately strenuously recommended. The prevailing idea was, that in the next campaign, the plans hitherto pursued were to be abandoned; and a war of distress and intimidation was to take place of a war of conquest, which had been found impracticable.

He observed, that this mode of war had been hitherto tried upon a large scale; and the success which hitherto had attended it would best prove, how far it would be proper to extend it to all our troops, and all our operations. That if it did not promise to be very decisive, as a plan merely military, it could be attended with no collateral advantages to our reputation as a civilized people, or to our policy in reconciling the minds of the colonies to his Majesty's government.

He then stated what a war by Indians was. That the fault of employing them did not consist in their being of one colour or another; in their using one kind of weapon or another; but in their way of making war; which was so horrible, that it shocked not only the manners of all civilized people, but far exceeded the ferocity of all barbarians mentioned in history.

That the Indians in North America never have but two principal objects for going to war: the glory of destroying, or, when opportunity offered, of exterminating their enemies; the other, which always depended on the former, the glory of procuring the greatest number of scalps, which they hung up in their huts as trophies of victory, conquest, and personal prowess, much in the same manner that standards, kettle-drums, and colours, are deposited in public places in civilized nations, in token of some signal overthrow of a powerful and dangerous enemy. The Indians of America had no titles, sine-cure places, lucrative governments, pensions, or red ribbons, to bestow on those who signalized themselves in the field; their re-
wards

wards were generally received in human scalps, in human flesh, and the gratifications arising from torturing, mangling, scalping, and sometimes eating their captives in war. He then repeated several instances of this diabolical mode of war, scarcely credible, and, if true, improper to be repeated.

He went largely into the proofs of this their mode of making war in all times. He proved, that they had not altered that mode of making war; and that no possible means could prevail on them to alter it. He then took a view of the employment of these savages in the wars between France and England; and shewed, that it had been the inevitable consequence of the connection of the two nations with the several Indian tribes; who, on the first European settlements, were, comparatively, great and powerful states; that alliances had been formed with them, and all our affairs became necessarily entangled with theirs. But now no European nation but the English colonies remained in North America; and the savages were so reduced in number, that there was no necessity of any connection with them as nations. They were only formidable from their cruelty; and to employ them was merely to be cruel ourselves in their persons; and to become chargeable with all the odious and impotent barbarities, which they would certainly commit, whenever they were called into action.

On all these points he dwelt a long time, explaining and illustrating every particular with great clearness and precision. He then considered the apologies which had been made for employing them; such as, 1st, "That if his Majesty had not employed them the rebels would; 2d, and that great care had been taken to prevent the indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children, according to their savage custom. 3d, That they were never employed but in the company of disciplined troops, in order to prevent their irregularities."

To the first, he answered, that no proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted an offensive alliance with any one tribe of savage Indians. Whereas, the imperfect papers already before that House demonstrated, that the King's ministers had negotiated and obtained such alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other. That the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations; which the King's ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the Colonies. That no attempt had been made in a single instance on the part of the King's ministers to procure

cure a neutrality. That if the fact had been that the Americans had actually employed those savages, yet the difference of employing them against armed and trained soldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women, and children of a country, dispersed in their houses, was manifest; and left those who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation without excuse.

To the second defence, "That care had been taken to prevent mischief," he answered, that he did not doubt the humanity of General Burgoyne and our other officers. They endeavoured it indeed, but in vain. He even stated the attempt itself as perfectly ridiculous. Here he entered into the consideration of General Burgoyne's famous speech to the savages, which he painted in a ludicrous light; not condemning the speech in itself; he said, it was rational and proper, if applied to any other; but as applied to savages, to whom it must be perfectly unintelligible and without the least effect, it might as well have been applied to the wild beasts of the forest. He then entered into many particulars of that General's expedition, as well as Colonel St. Leger's, to shew, that the savages, did in effect, indiscriminately murder men, women, and children, friends and foes; and that particularly the slaughter fell mostly upon those who were best affected to the King's government, and who for that reason had been lately disarmed by the provincials. Here he painted in very strong colours the horrid story of Miss Mac Ray, murdered by the savages on the day of her marriage with an officer of the King's troops.

As to the third head of defence, "That they had always regular troops to restrain and direct them," this he positively denied, and shewed, that whole nations of savages had been bribed to take up the hatchet, without a single regular officer or soldier amongst them. This he instanced in the case of the Cherokees, who were bribed and betrayed into war, upon promise of being assisted by a large regular force; that they accordingly had invaded Carolina in their usual manner, and for want of the support promised, were nearly exterminated, and the remains of that people now lived in a state of servitude to the Carolinians.

He then shewed the monstrous expence of that kind of ally. That one Indian soldier cost as much as five of the best regular, or irregular European troops. The ministers thought that inhumanity and murder could not be bought too dear.

That

That the expence of these Indians had not been less than 150,000l. and yet there never had been more than seven or eight hundred of them in the field ; and that for a very short time. That on the least appearance of ill success, they deserted ; and often even turned their arms on their friends. That by falling upon all the inhabitants without distinction, they made every man a soldier ; and that the greatest part of the army (as it were conjured up against General Burgoyne) was raised by indignation and horror at the use of the savages ; and to them the loss of a gallant European army under an accomplished general, was principally owing.

After this he touched upon the burning of the towns of Falmouth and Norfolk, as well as private gentlemen's and farmers' houses, and other ravages of the King's troops, as parts of the war of distress ; and the ill effects which such barbarities had produced.

He lastly entered upon Lord Dunmore's attempt to incite an insurrection of negroes. He stated his proclamation as contrary to the common and statute law of this kingdom, as well as to the law of nations. He stated what an insurrection of negroes was ; the number of that sort of men in Virginia and Maryland ; the mischiefs of setting a crew of fierce, foreign barbarians and slaves to judge which of their masters were in rebellion, and which of their acts were or were not rebellious : the utter impossibility of containing them and keeping them in order was stated in a strong manner. He appealed to all who knew the southern colonies, and the West Indies, what murders, rapes, and enormities of all kinds, were in the contemplation of all negroes who meditated an insurrection. He lastly asked what means were proposed for governing these negroes, who were 100,000 at least ; when they had reduced the province to their obedience, and made themselves masters of the houses, goods, wives and daughters of their murdered lords ? Another war must be made of them ; and another massacre, adding confusion to confusion, and destruction to destruction. He said, that providentially the English white civilized inhabitants had so strengthened themselves, as to keep under his Majesty's negro allies ; that not above one thousand or thereabouts were able to escape, and put themselves under the banners of Lord Dunmore, and that the end of these wretches, seduced into an insurrection, in which they were not supported, was truly deplorable ; not above one or two, as he heard, having escaped a miserable death by disease

ease or famine; but he promised to move for papers to clear up, and ascertain this point.

Then he dwelt on the affair of Lord Dunmore, because his proceedings were evident by his proclamation, and by the negro army which he had collected. But that there was very strong reason to believe, that the governors of both the Carolinas, and one at least of the Floridas, had been concerned in designs of the same sort. That one of these governors had been accused of it, who did not deny, that in case of rebellion he would avail himself of such a resource. That this was the grand cause of the greater resentment which appeared in the southern, than in many of the northern Colonies; as they had been the first to abjure the King: and one of them, Virginia, to declare, that if the rest should submit, they would hold out to the last: for what security could they receive, that if they admitted an English governor, he would not raise their negroes on them, whenever he thought it good to assert any given disturbances should amount to a rebellion, and declare martial law.

The only remedy he conceived there could be for the alienation of affections, and distrust and terror of our government, brought on by these measures; was for Parliament to enquire seriously into them; and to shew their disapprobation of practices as contrary to all true policy, as to the dictates of feeling and humanity: for otherwise the colonies would never believe, that those who were capable of carrying on so cruel and dishonourable a war, could ever be trusted for a sound and cordial peace; much less be safely trusted with power and dominion.

The speech lasted for more than three hours. It was universally thought the very best Mr. Burke had ever delivered.

Mr. Serjeant
Adair.

Mr. Serjeant *Adair* seconded the motion.

Mr. *De Grey*

Mr. *De Grey* (son to the chief justice) spoke in defence of employing the savages; said, that Indian treaties had been made during the last war; that they had been continued from time to time down to the present hour; that it was well known that superintendants were employed by government to create and preserve alliances among the Indian nations; and finally, that the House every session approved of, and recognized those alliances and treaties, by voting specific sums of money, to be paid into the hands of the superintendant, to be laid out in presents, and distributed among the leading warriors and chiefs.

Sir

Sir *Alexander Leith* was severe on Lord George Germaine, Sir *Alexander Leith*. who, he said was the sole author and contriver of those barbarous measures. He was astonished that the noble Lord, considering several circumstances which he abstained from mentioning, could presume to intrude himself into an office he was very unable and unqualified to fill; and he was still much more astonished that he dare continue in it, when his own experience must have long since convinced him, that he was totally unworthy of it. He said, every single measure he had recommended himself, or adopted from others, exhibited so many proofs of his incapacity; and when his conduct was brought to the test, he affirmed, in his place, that the noble Lord would be found, in every respect, unequal to filling the high office, which he supposed he had usurped. Here he was called to order by the chair.

Lord *George Germaine* said, he could never sit silent, and Lord *George Germaine*. hear such unbecoming personalities made to his face. He begged leave to assure the honourable gentlemen, if they were sincere, they must have arose from prejudice, and were ill-founded. He was a very old member of that House; and he defied any gentleman to say, that he had ever used any personalities himself. He always carefully abstained from them; and whatever his provocations to retort might be on the present occasion, he should give one more proof of the same mode of conducting himself. He said, he wished sincerely that his conduct might be fully and immediately enquired into. He was certain it would turn out to his honour; but until that event took place, he thought it was both unparliamentary and uncandid to make personal attacks upon him, which he should always, in future, look upon as meant to prejudice that House against him. His Lordship then spoke shortly to the question, and justified the conduct of administration. He said the matter lay within a very narrow compass; the Indians would not have remained idle spectators; the very arguments used by the honourable gentleman who made the motion were so many proofs that they would not: besides, the rebels, by their emissaries, had made frequent applications to the Indians to side with them; the Virginians particularly; and, he said, that some Indians were employed at Boston, in the rebel army. Now taking the disposition of the Indians with the applications which had been made to them by the Colonies, it amounted to a clear, indisputed proposition, that either they would have served against us, or that we must have employed them. This being the alternative, he con-

tended strongly for the necessity of employing them, and was ready to submit his conduct on that ground, to the judgment of the House, whenever the measure and the motives which led to it came under discussion.

Rt. Hon. T. Townshend. The Right Honourable *T. Townshend* contended that the House was not in possession of any species of parliamentary proof whatever, to induce it to suppose, that overtures had been made by the Congress to the Indian powers; on the contrary, from the best information, the fact was the direct reverse. There had been a meeting between persons on the part of the Colonies and the Indian chiefs, and there it was well known, that all the deputies desired, was a neutrality on the part of the Indians. One of the first public acts of the Congress besides, was, a letter, addressed to the several Indian nations, in which they stated the utmost of their desires to be no more than an acquiescence in this neutrality; but granting the fact as stated by the noble Lord in its fullest extent to be true, it would not meet the main objection stated by the honourable gentleman who made the motion, which was, not that those barbarities would be exercised on men, with arms in their hands, or made captives in battle; but on innocent, peaceable people in their dwellings and habitations: unless therefore the noble Lord would make one supposition more, which was, that the slaves in the Southern Colonies, as well as the savages, would make a forced march over to Great Britain, and execute here what the two proclamations now read invited them to perpetrate in America: the pretence of employing them to murder old men, women, and children, instead of making war against their armed enemies, even in their usual way, was entirely at an end. He then gave an account of Lacorne, and his method of acting, when he had the command of Indians.

Governor Pownall.

Governor Pownall. No man can have a more determined abhorrence of the employing the Indian savages in our wars, than I have; because no man, in this House at least, has had occasion to know so much of this matter, as it fell to my lot to have during the last war. My horror of their cruel services does not arise from the paintings of imagination, but from what I have known of the fact: there is not so hellish, so unfair an engine of war, as the service of the Indian savage, when mixed in with the wars of civilized nations. What then must we think of it? What must be our feelings, when they are employed in a war between parts of the same nation, branches of the same family, in the war between us and our brethren.

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The mutual feelings of humanity, and a spirit of honour, have, amidst civilized nations, defined even rights, and given laws to a state of war; have laid a restraint on havock, and given limits to destruction and bloodshed. There are, even in rigours of war, the *jura belli*, which civilized nations have adopted, and do almost universally observe. The war of the savage, instead of being a contest of right by power, regulated and restrained by any feelings of honour or humanity, is an unrestrained effusion of the passions of revenge and blood-thirstiness, *est certare odiis*, is a war of universal ravage and devastation to utter destruction; instead of giving laws to war, it gives the name and effect of right to every cruel exertion of passion, revenge, and barbarity, *jusque datum sceleri*. If, therefore, the Indians have ever, in this war, been employed in any case where an absolute unavoidable and direct necessity did not call for it, nothing can ever justify it---I am sure my opinion never shall. I consider therefore the case of this American war; its operations are combined with the nature of the country, more than half a wilderness, and with the interests and nature of the Indians who inhabit this wilderness. No war can be carried on in that country in which the Indians will not mix. That belligerent power which hath not them with it, will have them against it. The idea of a neutrality is a delusive notion, and impracticable in fact; and never was taken up by any party, but as a succedaneum, to be tried after such party had miscarried in the attempt, to engage the Indians to act offensively with them. These were the politics of the French in the last war; after we had got the Indians from them, and engaged to us, their whole efforts were employed to engage the Indians to a neutrality. The same spirit of politics, on the same ground, led the Congress, in this war, (after they had failed in their attempt to engage confederated Indians) to follow the plausible line of neutrality in the temper of moderation and humanity. They are an informed, a wise, and a prudent body of men; all their conduct has been measured by the rules which wisdom and prudence dictate; they, therefore, first tried to engage the Indians, knowing that there is an absolute, unavoidable, and direct necessity of employing the Indians offensively, and mixing them in with their arms and operations. Without referring to, or quoting the whole course of the French and English politics, in America, respecting this matter; and their various attempts to engage and secure the arms of the Indians to their respective party; I will inform the House, that one and almost the sole

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purpose

purpose of the Congress of deputies from all the colonies in America, convened and held at Albany in 1754, was to persuade and engage the Indians of the Five Nations and their allies to take up the hatchet (in aid of the British cause) against the French. So much for the spirit of American politics in this case. And, in consequence of the absolute unavoidable and direct necessity of such measures, the instructions given last war uniformly by the several succeeding ministers, to General Braddock, to General Shirley, to Lord Loudon, to General Abercrombie, and General Amherst, were to this very purpose.

From seeing that the Indians must be employed; from seeing that the necessity was unavoidable; from feeling, at the same time, a horror of their being permitted to act their cruelties in violation of every idea of humanity, contrary to every principle of the law of nations, and the *jura belli* observed by civilized nations amongst each other, it was, that, being in a situation which gave a right and power to do it, informed in consultation and concert with my friend, Colonel, after-Sir William Johnson, the plan of Indian administration and establishments, which put the Indians, when employed in conjunction with our troops, under such a superintendency and lead as might direct their operations, in conformity to the laws of nations and *jura belli*; the establishment of the superintendency; the forming the Indians into war companies; the getting war-leaders (by means agreeable to their own mode of choosing them) appointed to command and conduct them; the forms of the commissions and instructions, were all settled at that time. From that period, I believe few, if any, of those outrageous acts of cruelty and barbarity, before experienced, have been committed. In the year 1756, upon the appointment of Sir William Johnson to be Colonel of the Six Nations, the Indians engaged to be employed under Lord Loudon were formed into four companies, with officers appointed over them. The forms of the commissions and instructions settled at that time were constantly observed during the whole of the last war: and upon my asking the question in office, I have been told that the same have been observed during this unhappy war. If any commander in chief has at any time been induced, from any ideas, different from this preventive system, to give a loose to that rein by which the savage spirit of the Indians was restrained; or, if any improper persons have been employed, who have encouraged, or even permitted the Indians to in-

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dulge their old savage cruelty, such, I think, deserve the most severe punishment. We ought first to inquire, whether the like establishments have been observed; whether the like commissions and instructions have been issued in this war as in the last: we ought farther to enquire, whether any improper people have been employed? whether they have carried their command so as to encourage or permit any cruelties or savage rigours in the execution? We cannot condemn what from necessity has been a constant and invariable measure in the American warfare, that of employing Indians: but if any savage barbarities, contrary to the law of nations and the *jura belli*, have been committed, there our censure ought to fall; and in proportion as the fault rises into criminality, that censure ought to be accompanied with punishment. So much, Sir, for what is past. If the House will indulge me to speak to arrangements, which I think might be taken for the future, respecting these Indian services, I think the necessity of employing them may be avoided; I know, and therefore speak directly, that any idea of an Indian neutrality is nonsense, is delusive, dangerous nonsense; if both we and the Americans were agreed to observe a strict neutrality in not employing them, they would then plunder and scalp both parties indiscriminately on both sides. Although this is my opinion, founded on the knowledge and experience I have had in these matters; yet I am persuaded, that if we and the Americans could come to some stipulation, or convention, that we would mutually, and in one spirit of good faith, not suffer the Indians to intermeddle, but to consider and act against them as enemies, wherever they did execute any hostilities against any of the British nation, equally, whether English or Americans, all this horrid business might be prevented, or at least in great measure restrained. If government would in the true spirit and temper of humanity adopt this idea, and if Parliament would by any means find their way to give sanction to it: if government, in this temper, and under this sanction, would propose to the Congress the terms of such a convention, I am certain, that the Congress would embrace it with sincerity, and execute it with good faith. This is a measure that would have nothing to do with the object of the war; and yet this spirit, thus aiming to regulate the means of restraining its rigours and cruelty, might become the first seed of peace. This would open grounds that might lead to mutual good dispositions and good offices; and who shall say what may not arise out of this; I think, that I see clearly, such

such a beginning would end in peace; government will not commit any of its rights or interests in making the proposal: the very making it would lay the grounds of agreement. [Here a mark of almost general approbation showed itself by, Hear him, from all sides of the House.] I hail the happy omen; I think I see the spirit of peace arising in the House, and may it animate all our breasts. I am so confident that this measure would be adopted and succeed; and that it would finally lead to the opening a treaty for peace itself; that if government will take it up as a measure, and this House give its sanction to it, I will, without commission, without pay, or the expectation of any reward whatsoever, go myself to the Congress, and make the proposal: and though I take with me no commission, by which government may be committed; yet if the proposal is accepted and agreed to, I will find a way to give assurance to the Congress, that they may act on my proposal; I will put myself into their hands as an hostage for the truth of what I propose, and for the good faith of government. On this ground I am ready to set out this moment. I feel not a little happy that what I have said is well received by the House; whether it will be accepted and adopted by government, I know not. I feel that I have done my duty.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* highly complimented Mr. Burke on his speech, and hoped he would publish it, which if he did, he would go and nail it upon every church-door, where he saw the King's proclamation for the fast. He shewed, from former transactions in the late war, how difficult it was for any general to keep the savages in any kind of order, especially where the number of regulars was not sufficient to over-awe them. He mentioned an instance, in which he had the good fortune to preserve the life of a prisoner, but that it was with the utmost difficulty and dexterity that he had accomplished it by stealing as it were the man from their hands, not by dint of discipline or threats.

He mentioned that in the late affair between Colonel St. Leger and General Harkener, near Fort Stanwix, that several of the General's men being taken prisoners, Sir John Johnson, who commanded the savages, finding several of the prisoners, who from his own knowledge, were not friends to the American cause, but forced into the service, he separated them from the rest of the prisoners, putting them into a house, and telling the Indians, that they were his friends and their

their persons sacred ; and yet in the night the houses were broke open, and those very men massacred.

Hon. *James Luttrell* repeated Lord G. Germaine's words, Hon. *J. Luttrell*.
 " That if we were sure the Americans would not employ the Indians, if we ceased to employ them, he should certainly prefer neutrality to such horrid massacre." Mr. Luttrell objected to giving ministers the credit of preferring neutrality, when that neutrality was so evidently in their power to be acquired, not by application to the savages, but to the Americans ; for if both sides refused to pay for scalps, the Indians must prefer the felling of furs, venison, or wild fowl, to a human butchery, attended with infinite danger to themselves, and no profit. That they might be employed as pilots and hunters, though he thought their shewing General Burgoyne the Hudson's river, had proved no advantage to this country. He could not conceive neutrality an absurdity, because it would imply, that the minister who stated it to the House as a wise measure was ignorant and uninformed ; and it was not common sense to say the Americans would not agree to it, when they are the sufferers by the present employment of the savages. He wished for the papers relative to negotiations with Indians, because ministerial assertions were not equal to parliamentary proof, and that their concealing the truth, implied a fear of being justly censured for a want of humanity, disgraceful to the character of the nation, and of putting this country to unnecessary expence.

Governor *Johnstone* expatiated on the bad policy of employing such a banditti. He gave the highest compliments to Mr. Burke's oratory, and expressed himself happy that on this day strangers were not admitted into the gallery, as it might have been to be feared, that so great would have been their indignation at the two Lords [North and Germaine] and to such a pitch of enthusiasm would they have been worked, that he should have expected the Lords would have been torn in pieces by the people in the way to their houses. Governor *Johnstone*.

Mr. *Rigby* pretty strongly declared, that there had been mismanagement somewhere ; that it ought to be enquired into, and the nation receive full satisfaction. Mr. *Rigby*.

He vindicated the measure of employing the savages, and said, they might be kept in order, as there was an instance of General Amherst having done it in the late war. [In this he alluded to a story told by Colonel Barré, that General Amherst had told the savages, that for the future they should not murder

murder any person, upon which 3000 of them left his camp the next night.]

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Charles Fox* observed, that the idea of the gentleman who spoke last, of keeping the savages in order, was exactly similar to that of keeping the Americans so. That General Amherst had lost all his men as soon as he attempted it, as this nation had America. He proved, from the dates of the papers of the Congress, that the Americans had not entered into any treaty with the savages until some months after the date of the English treaty, and shewed that to prove the fact was an additional reason for producing the papers. He likewise observed, that the tone of ministers was greatly altered: formerly it was *God and Nature*; now it was simple *Necessity*.

Ld. North. Lord *North* said, that he also was glad that no strangers were admitted on this day, though for another reason, viz. lest they should be worked up into an indignation and horror against the gentlemen on the other side of the House, for declaring sentiments so contrary to those which the honour and dignity of the country demanded.

That in respect to the employment of the savages, he looked on it as bad, but unavoidable; that they were of that nature, that if one side did not, they would enter immediately on the other.

That as to the Negroes who were set at liberty from their masters, and insisted to join our army, the proclamation of Lord Dunmore did not call on them to murder their masters, as had been said in the debate, but only to take up arms in defence of their sovereign; but that he was willing Lord Dunmore's proclamation should be laid on the table, that, if reprehensible, it might be attended to.

That as to cruelty, he had been informed that several of the Provincials had been hanged up, by a dozen at a time, for no other crime but that of driving their hogs or cattle to the English camp, which camp was not in any need of provisions, having been compleatly furnished from the country with as much as would last them months, and therefore the provisions intended to be brought in were for the use of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, not of the army. He called on the military gentlemen in the House to declare, if this proceeding was warranted by the rules of war of any nation whatever.

Gen. Conway. General *Conway* said, that the noble Lord's question could only be answered by the circumstances of the thing. That when a town was besieged or blockaded, and the General who commanded such siege or blockade, had hopes of success by starving the others, and should then publish that no person should

should bring in provisions on pain of death, that a breach of such orders would be so punished, and the General excusable; but if storming the enemy was not the point aimed at, they seldom proceeded to such extremities. That it was necessary to know the precise time when Washington had done this (if he had done it) as he believed there was a point of time when the army had not taken Mud-Island, and might be supposed to want provisions.

Mr. *Gilbert* said a few words against having the papers. Mr. *Gilbert*.

The House divided, For the question 137, against it 223.

Mr. *Burke* then moved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House, copies of all treaties and conventions with the Indians of North-America, and all messages, speeches, and symbols, sent by any persons acting in his Majesty's service, or under their orders, from the 1st day of March 1774, so far as the same have been received. It passed in the negative. Mr. *Burke*.

That there be laid before this House, an account of all money, arms, ammunition, stores, and the quantity, kind and value, of goods given to the said Indians, or to any of them, or consigned to any person to be given to them, or any of them, on account of his Majesty, or any person employed in his or the public service, from the 1st March 1774. It passed in the negative.

That there be laid before this House, an account of the numbers, nations, and names of chiefs, of the American Indians, who have been in arms against the colonies in North America, since 1st March 1774; as also of those who have acted in his Majesty's armies, with their state and numbers, as by the last returns, and where employed. It passed in the negative.

That there be laid before this House, an account of the number of Negroes of Virginia, who have repaired to his Majesty's standard, from the 1st of March 1774, and the corps which they formed or were embodied in, together with the names of the officers commanding the said corps, and serving therein; as also their number and condition, as by the last return. It passed in the negative.

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House, copies of all orders given, and informations received, relating to the raising Negroes for his Majesty's service, in North Carolina and South Carolina. It passed in the negative. Adjourned to February 9.

February 9.

Private business.

February 10.

No debate.

February 11.

House in committee on the state of the nation. Before the
Ld. North. Speaker left the chair, Lord *North* said, he should on Tuesday next (the 17th) propose to the House a plan of conciliation with America.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Pulteney having taken the chair, Mr. *Fox* rose, and stated a great number of facts relative to the army serving in America, which facts were founded on conclusions, from the information on the table.

He observed, that there was such a number of effective men in America (6864) in the year 1774; that by comparing the reinforcements sent out the next year, added to the forces then on the spot, with the returns at the conclusion of that year, it would give the total deficiency, which under its several heads amounted to the total loss; so with the years 1776 and 1777: thus by adding to the number of men serving in America the first year, the reinforcements and recruits of each successive year, and comparing the amount of those several totals with the last returns, the difference between the latter and the former shewed exactly the loss of men slain in battle, or dead, or otherwise incapacitated for service, by wounds, captivity, and sickness.

This, he observed, was the first part of his plan, to ascertain the loss of lives, and loss of service, under their respective heads; the other part of it would be, to estimate the loss of treasure, which he computed, at the lowest computation, to be full twenty-five millions spent, which, with twenty thousand lives lost, that being the difference, he said, between the troops serving in America at the commencement of the war, and the whole of the embarkations, he appealed to the judgment of the committee, whether it was not full time (considering that we had gained nothing, or next to nothing, by this fatal contest hitherto, but a powerful, numerous, and well-disciplined enemy, instead of an undisciplined rabble, to contend with) to think of the critical and alarming situation of public affairs. Whether our resources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous task of conquest; or if that should appear, on enquiry, to be totally impracticable, whether Parliament should not, and that immediately, devise some means for putting an end to our public calamities, and endeavour to avert those imminent dangers with which

we are threatened on every side. If ministers while they hold out the plan, will at the same time have the candour to acquaint the House, how much treasure has been wasted, how many lives have been lost, how many disgraces had been brought on the nation, by this mad, improvident, and destructive war, he would most certainly join them; that twenty-five millions of money had been already spent, or the faith of the nation hath been pledged for the expenditure; and that twenty thousand lives had been thrown away to no manner of purpose; but, if at all practicable, to make conciliation infinitely more difficult than if the sword had never been drawn, a shilling spent, or a life lost.

He gave the most ample testimony to the bravery and good conduct of the generals; and contended, that they miscarried, not for want of skill in their profession, or from neglect of duty, but merely because they were employed in a service, in which it was impossible for them to succeed; and if ministers shewed any trace of wisdom throughout their whole conduct, it was in their choice of the officers they sent out, though they now basely insinuated, that it was only in the choice of generals that they were deceived; and that it was to their fault alone, that all our miscarriages in the prosecution of the measures could be justly imputed.

He said, he had been informed, that it was intended to send out other generals, and on that ground, that great expectations were formed from the next campaign: but, for his part, he expected, that whoever should succeed to the present gentlemen in command, would just meet with the same fate of their predecessors; they would be one day charged with indolence, inactivity, and want of spirit; with a designed procrastination of the war, from motives of lucre and private interest; and the next, with Quixotism, knight-errantry, and exceeding the instructions under which they were to act. He turned again to the intended proposition of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and assured his Lordship, that if his plan was a fair, open one, founded in justice and good policy, and warranted by the principles of the constitution, he would venture to answer for his side of the House, that it would meet with their most hearty concurrence. He feared it would not answer this description; because he could hardly be persuaded, unless the idea of tyranny, cruelty, and meanness were inseparable, that the same men who had rejected the most humble petitions and dutiful remonstrances with haughtiness and contempt, could ever consent to hold out any plan which was meant to secure those rights which
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they had all along attempted to annihilate by the sword, thereby adding tyranny and cruelty to oppression and injustice. He then read his several resolutions, which amounted to twelve in number ; that there was such a number of troops in America in 1774, so many sent in 1775, total of that year, and so on with 1776 and 1777, which ought, on the whole, in the latter year to have amounted to 48,000 effective men and a fraction ; that by the last returns, foreigners and British included, did not amount to more than 28,000, consequently the loss was 20,000 men. From whence he drew this conclusion, that if with such a number of troops so little could be done, it was clear, that the carrying on the war, either to terrify the Americans into obedience, or to subdue them, was impracticable.

His first resolution moved was ; Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that in the year 1774, the whole of the land forces serving in North America did not amount to more than 6864 effective men, officers included.

Lord Barrington.

Lord *Barrington* said, he highly disapproved of the motion, as improper and ill-timed : but when he knew some of the honourable gentleman's proposed resolutions were not founded in fact, he had no difficulty in giving them a direct negative. The honourable gentleman stated, that 20,000 men had been lost already in this war ; this, he contended, was founded in gross error, for, by the returns which he had in his hand, it plainly appeared, that instead of 20,000 men being lost, the whole amount of the killed, in the course of the three years war, was no more than 1200. He did not mean to include in that number those who died natural deaths, or deserted, or were made prisoners, or were unfit for service through wounds or sickness, but such only as were slain in battle. If, therefore, the resolution concerning the loss of men was to go out into the world, it would convey a very false idea, and looking on it in that light, he should give it his hearty negative.

Mr. Grenville.

Mr. *Grenville*, in an animated speech, condemned the conduct of the American war. He acknowledged, that he always thought, and should ever continue to think, be the event of the present contest what it may, that Parliament had a right to have a controul over America ; to levy taxes, to regulate its trade, and secure the monopoly of its commerce. The establishing and maintaining of colonies would be folly, were it otherwise ; the protecting them, when they were not able to protect and defend themselves, at a very great expence, which has ever been, and always must be the case, from the nature of such establishments, would not be folly, but madness.

ness in the extreme, if, when they arrived at a state of strength and maturity, to be no longer in want of our aid, they were to be at liberty entirely to throw off all dependence, and disclaim all connection with the parent-state, and, by so doing, establish their own greatness on the ruin of the mother-country. It was upon these principles that he had supported the war, in which he had but one object, revenue. These principles were now become merely matter of speculation; such as they were, however, he should ever retain them: he therefore did not mean by his vote of that day to abandon them; but meant to consider the question of expediency, which must decide upon the war. He deplored the disgrace brought not upon our arms, but on our counsels, by the rash undigested expedition from Canada. He lamented the little protection given to our commerce, the weight of insurance, the state of our public credit; to these circumstances he must yield; but that he hoped the day of retribution would come, when ministers might be called to a severe account for the infamy which they have brought upon this country, by their conduct of a war, into which they had deceived the country, by promises of a revenue which they now abandoned. He observed, that the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, had informed the House, that he would, in a few days, propose to its consideration a plan of conciliation. He sincerely wished it might succeed; but he had every reason in the world to believe it would not. A previous confidence between the parties was the very basis of every species of treaty-making. The noble Lord himself would not venture to say, that was the case between ministers and the present governing powers in America. It was well known, that every possible occasion had been given by the present administration, to fix in the breasts of the people of America, and their leaders, the most rooted hatred and inveterate rancour. Under such circumstances of disappointment and disgrace on one side, and such provocations on the other, he would appeal to the candour of those whose dispositions might carry them to the greatest lengths, in point of expectation, whether there was the most distant prospect of any good to arise from a treaty, when conducted by men on the part of Great Britain, who were universally execrated from one end of the North American continent to the other—Men, whose best and sincerest intentions would be only interpreted as lures to ensnare and betray. He was ready to give the noble Lord all possible credit for his candour; but whatever his intentions may be, he feared that the effect of his proposed plan, partly from the reasons just mentioned, and partly from
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the nature of the plan itself, would be, not to be accepted of by America ; which would furnish ministers with an apology to try the experiment of one more fatal and disgraceful campaign ; after which, he would venture to predict, that all further attempts to subdue, or treat with America, would be at an end, and that country irretrievably lost for ever to this.

He concluded in nearly the following words : The moment is critical. I do not think, notwithstanding all that has happened, but the colonies may, by proper measures, be yet brought back to a state of constitutional obedience ; and that we may once more recover their affections. If there be a man, who has served this nation with honour to himself, and glory to his country ; if there be a man, who has carried the arms of Britain triumphant to every quarter of the globe, and that beyond the most sanguine expectations of the people ; if there be a man of whom the house of Bourbon stands more peculiarly in awe ; if there be a man in this country, who unites the confidence of England and America, is not he the proper person to treat with America, and not those who have uniformly deceived or oppressed them ? There is not one present, who is ignorant of the person to whom I allude. You all know that I mean a noble and near relation : [Lord Chatham.] He is the man whom his Majesty ought to call to his councils, because the Americans revere him, and the unbiaſſed part of the nation would most chearfully trust their dearest interests with him. I know the little paltry insinuations which may be thrown out against the language I now hold ; can only say to them, that I despise them as much as I shall do any man capable of using them : and knowing that there is not the man nor the object in this country capable of making me cross that board against my opinion, I trust that this House will at least give me credit for the sincerity with which I deliver it ; and if it shall be found, that it is to him to whom the nation looks forward for its salvation, it is a duty which I am bold to say his Majesty owes to his people, to avail himself of such respectable assistance.

Ld. North.

Lord North said, as he never meant to negotiate away the rights of this country, to procure himself any temporary convenience ; so he never wished to encroach on those of America. His own private opinion never varied : but if his proposition should not meet with the approbation of the majority of that House, or that it should undergo any alteration, in either event, he would gladly acquiesce. As to the particular favourable disposition of America towards individuals or parties in that or the other House, by every thing that had yet

yet appeared, all men and all parties seemed equally obnoxious to them; and whenever propositions came to be made, he was inclined to believe the object of the colonies would not be who it was that made them, but whether they were such as answered their own expectations. For his part, he was ready and willing to resign the disagreeable task to whoever was thought better qualified, and was contented to accept of it. He wished as sincerely for pacification as any one person in either House; and so the end was obtained, it was a matter of no consequence to him by whom, or in what manner it was obtained. He then spoke to the question, and was against the motion, saying, that though he had approved of the purport of the motion, he could not agree to it while there remained so great a difference in the calculation, between the honourable gentleman who made it, and the noble Lord from whose particular office the papers came. If, therefore, the motion was not withdrawn till the difference in calculation, which was in the proportion of sixteen to one, was reconciled, he should move to report some progress.

Mr. *Burke* remarked that the sentiments, opinions, promises and assurances of the minister, were constantly in a regular, successive, uniform state of contradiction to each other, in respect of every matter relative to the American measures and American war. On the present occasion, he rose instantly, he said, after the noble Lord [Lord North] left, if he deferred it only a few minutes longer, the noble Lord's memory might fail him. Mr. *Burke*.

Lord *Ongley* was against the motion, and declared himself to be against any measure of accommodation, short of compelling America, in the first instance, to acknowledge the supreme right of Parliament. Ld. *Ongley*.

Sir *Richard Sutton* spoke nearly to the same purport, and expressed his disapprobation of the resolution, as only tending to encourage our rebellious subjects in America to refuse every reasonable plan of accommodation which ministers might think proper to offer them. Sir *Rich. Sutton*.

Lord *Nugent* was against the proposed resolution. He affirmed, on his conscience, he was satisfied that ministers had pursued the best measures, though they had unhappily failed. As there was so immense a difference between the accounts of the two honourable gentlemen [Mr. Fox and Lord Barrington] he could not see, till that was settled, how it was possible for the debate to be continued. He said, he disapproved of this enquiry from the beginning; and experience had taught him, that a multiplicity of papers served not to inform but to perplex; Ld. *Nugent*.

perplex; and related the following anecdote, in proof of his general assertion. The late King, soon after his accession, told Sir Robert Walpole, that he would himself see all papers of confidence, before any measures were taken upon them. Sir Robert was alarmed, and went to consult his brother Horace, what was best to be done. Horace seeing him so uneasy, laughed, and advised him to give the King more than he asked; "Give him all the papers, and I dare say, he will soon have enough of them." Sir Robert took his advice, and carried him a cart full, telling his Majesty, that he had paid several extra clerks, to assist in getting more ready; and informed him further, that he believed, when the whole were copied, they would fill five carts more. The King told him, he need not get any more ready till he heard his further directions on the subject; the consequence of which was, that Sir Robert never heard a syllable more of papers from his Majesty as long as he remained in office. His Lordship concluded with moving, that the chairman should leave the chair, report some progress, and desire leave to sit again.

Mr. T.

Townshend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* replied, that the honourable gentleman's twelve resolutions did not amount to twelve cart-loads, nor did all the papers called for; but if the noble Lord who controverted the truth of some of the resolutions [Lord Barrington] sent in papers of a different complexion to those he spoke from himself, and which he held in his hand, it was no wonder there were mistakes in the calculations, and just such mistakes too as the noble Lord pleased. In the course of his speech, he mentioned that to his knowledge, ministers had last week sent leave of absence to General Howe, who would doubtless be on his return home when the noble Lord's conciliatory proposition arrived in America.

Lord John
Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* entreated the committee to turn its attention from trifles, and think seriously on the state of this country; and whether their properties in land and stocks were not now too nearly at stake, not to suggest the most alarming apprehensions. The funds daily falling in value, commerce rapidly declining, in his opinion, were motives sufficient to rouse the nation to a proper sense of danger.

Mr. *Ellis.*

Mr. *Ellis* censured the enquiry, said it could be productive of no good, and might of great mischief; said, that a fall of stock, and suspension of commerce in some of its branches, were the usual, nay the inevitable consequences of a state of war; but independent of any other consideration, he should vote to adjourn the committee, and report some progress, because it was evident, that the honourable gentleman who

moved

moved the resolutions was mistaken in the calculations on which they were founded.

Colonel *Barré*, after maintaining the truth of the resolutions moved by his honourable friend, observed on the proposition promised by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon on Tuesday, that he expected no good from it, as the conduct of ministers had from the first of the American business been shuffling (for it deserved no better name) both to this country and the colonies. Col. *Barré*.

Mr. *Fox* insisted that 20,000 men had been lost, at least the greater part of them, to this country, though they were not all slain in battle; and he defied the noble Lord at the head of the war department to prove where 6000 of them, including prisoners or sick, were to be had; for that by the last returns the British and foreign troops amounted to no more than 28,000, though we paid for 48,000 men. Mr. *Fox*.

Mr. *Aubrey*, after having spoke to the question, in which he praised the conduct of the Americans, particularly their mode of making war, by which he shewed the impossibility of success by our arms, concluded with observing, that all he should say to the intended motion of reconciliation just mentioned by the noble Lord [Lord North] was, that after the violent measures so long carried on by that noble Lord, and his equally violent declarations of persevering in them, until he had brought America prostrate at his feet, he could not but look upon that intended motion as a proof that the noble Lord thought success hopeless, and perseverance impracticable. Mr. *Aubrey*.

General *Conway* replied to Lord Barrington, and said, if his honourable friend had been mistaken, it must be because he was designedly led astray by the manner the office papers were made out. This however could not properly affect the truth of his other resolutions, though he had been mistaken in one or two; but he was convinced that every one of them was substantially right. General *Conway*.

The House divided; ayes, to report some progress, 263; noes, 149.

Adjourned to February 13.

February 13.

House in Committee of Supply.

Mr. *Buller* moved, that 781,911*l.* be granted for the ordinary and extraordinary services of the navy for 1778. With respect to the estimates of both these services, he said, that Mr. *Buller*.

they did not differ very materially from the grants of preceding years.

Mr. Temple
Luttrell.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell*. He said he was very glad to meet the gentlemen of the Admiralty-Board in Committee, because he might be indulged with rising a second and third time, if called upon so to do. He remarked, that a noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] had, on a former day, when the Speaker was in the chair, accused him of using too severe a language towards a noble Earl at the head of the navy department. This he disavowed; he had indeed charged that person with dangerous and gross errors in his public capacity; and he held it incumbent on him to support such an attack by very substantial proofs, which he was now ready to undertake;—he had been also allowed the last official returns of the squadron of Jamaica, “left, as was thrown out by a formal opposition to his request, he might presume the motion made by him was of some material consequence.” He had, at the same time, been told, with a contemptuous sneer, and much assurance, “that he might go home with what glee he was master of, fully persuaded that the British navy was not in the bad state he had flattered himself to be the case.” For his part, he could never admit, that, in a House of Parliament, the importance of any public question was to be adjudged from the individual weight and authority of the member who suggested it; in that House all members were equal in their delegated character from the people; and from whatever quarter a motion might originate, it ought to stand or fall by its own intrinsic merits; neither did he, by any means, rejoice in the calamitous state of the British fleet; he thought he gave the strongest and clearest demonstration of his earnest wishes to have the navy restored to its former flourishing condition. When he was thus zealous to investigate and correct the real abuses, frauds, and iniquitous practices made use of by the Admiralty, he expressed his wishes, that the House, in the Committee upon the state of the nation, would have began their enquiry by first considering what naval force we could actually command, in case of a rupture with France and Spain; it is on the superiority of our fleet the safety of Great Britain must depend; and the examination into the sufficiency of our land-forces for the internal duty of these islands, whether 16,000 or more, must arise out of the prior decision, whether we had maritime strength enough to keep the French from landing on our coast under cover of a superior squadron of ships of war; but he made no doubt the gentlemen of the
minority

minority, with whom he had hitherto uniformly co-operated, would not be disposed to waste time in questions of trifling detail, or at best of but secondary import, which might justly draw down the censure of the whole nation on the proceeding of Parliament at this crisis; therefore hoped they would seriously and effectually urge the important considerations of the state of the British fleet, and discussions of such magnitude as fundamentally affected the interest and preservation of the empire.

Mr. Luttrell denied that the estimates were materially the same as in other years: the extraordinary sum total exceeding any of former times by 50,000*l.* and the ordinary repairs, wear and tear, &c. of ships out of commission, when there are only about fourscore on that list, comes to as much as was charged on 250 ships and vessels of the like description, before the American war broke out, being little short of 170,000*l.*

Mr. *Ellis* assured the honourable gentleman who spoke last, Mr. *Ellis*. he had been much misinformed; that he rather commended than blamed his zeal for urging an enquiry into the large sums granted for the uses of the navy; he confessed that, in general, they met with too little regard from the members of that House; but he could venture to assure the honourable gentleman, that he had been much misinformed as to the mal-application of the liberal gifts of Parliament for that most essential object;—he had been long well acquainted with the navy department, and been honoured more than once with a post of rank and confidence in that line; he had not observed any gross abuses in those who now presided over it, and hoped the navy was in a much better situation than the honourable gentleman had surmised, and would so be found when the day of trial should come;—there must, of course, be vast grants for so extensive a department of government as that of our marine, especially for building, rebuilding, and repairs, immediately after the close of such a weighty war as the last, when the ships would be found in a great measure worn out, and must be replaced with new ones; and therefore, for a few years of the peace just following war, your estimates will be higher than in subsequent times. As to the article of the monies granted for the navy, the Admiralty Board could only be made accountable for such sums as they actually drew out of the Treasury, and not for all the sums which were voted by Parliament upon estimates stated to be for that service. He did not wonder at gentlemen being sur-
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prised

prised at the magnitude of sums demanded for repairs, but attributed the necessity of such demands to the badness of timber with which many of our new ships had been built, but that he hoped the quantity of timber in our dock-yards would give time for the wood to be better seasoned, and fitter for service; a quantity, he said, never known in your dock-yards before this first Lord of the Admiralty came to the Board.

Mr. Temple
Luttrell.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell*. For what relates to the timber for ship-building and repairs, imported from abroad, I attribute much of the ruinous state of your ships of war. Those ill judged contracts, when the quality is found so very faulty and pernicious, the quantity thereof can only be brought in argument to shew the magnitude of the mischief: it is this foreign timber which has, I fear, entailed rottenness on your fleet; and if the last fire in your dock-yards had made a providential sweep of all your oak from Steiten, I believe it would have more than compensated for its destruction of other truly valuable articles. He thought the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] had, in fact, argued much more forcibly against the present naval administration, than he had ever presumed to do, alledging, that the largest grants for the extraordinaries of the navy, (that is, building, rebuilding, and repairs) was of course necessary for some few years immediately after the war. This maxim might indeed reasonably warrant the late Mr. Grenville, or Lord Egmont, in applying to Parliament for an advanced allowance on this head when they presided at the Admiralty; or might have justified that illustrious sea-officer [Lord Hawke] when he was at the head of the Board, had the extraordinaries then come up to the present enormous sum. The demand now made thereon was near half a million sterling, and far exceeded requisitions of the kind attempted by any of Lord Sandwich's predecessors in office. The noble Earl came to the head of the navy eight years after a profound peace. Including the present estimates, the House of Commons will have given that noble Earl about two millions one hundred thousand pounds for building, rebuilding, and repairing the ships and vessels of his Majesty's navy, that is, the mere hull, masts, and yards, over and above near 800,000*l.* for the keeping and preserving the hulls of his Majesty's ships out of commission, and above 600,000*l.* for extra stores, exclusive of what was allowed by the nation to replenish the stores consumed by the fire at Portsmouth dock-yard, and exclusive of sundry considerable demands for timber, &c. set forth in the
navy-

navy-debt. More money had therefore been granted by the nation to the noble Earl [Lord Sandwich] by this country, on the extraordinary estimate alone, than would have built from the stocks, rigged and completely equipped for sea, (independent of navy-ordnance, which is a distinct and weighty charge in the public accounts) one hundred men of war of the line of battle. And what is the actual condition of your ships at present? Of the whole navy of Great Britain, not more, at the utmost, than fifty of the line of battle (including the vast nominal account of wrecks in ordinary) can possibly be found fit for sea, in case of a foreign war, without such repairs as would require the labour of many months, and a very large expence. Lord Hawke, when he resigned his office, left 80 of the line in good condition, of which 59 were fully manned for war. Mr. Luttrell then examined the list of men of war of the line now given in to be repaired, and remarked, that the following ships had already been allowed more money for repairs than would have built them new from the keel at the most extravagant cost, viz. *Namur*, within the four last years, 39,335*l.* and 6635*l.* for her stores. The *Defence*, 29,500*l.* The *Arrogant*, 26,500*l.* He should now sit down, after stating the estimates for repairing the *Dragon* of 74 guns, and which had more than once been reported to the House as actually taken in hand. The Admiralty, in 1771, came to Parliament for 5000*l.* to repair the *Dragon*: in 1772, for 7000*l.* more; in 1773, for 4000*l.*; in 1774, 4000*l.*; in 1775, 7000*l.* in all 27,000*l.* besides 10,273*l.* for her stores. Now, does, or does not, that very ship (the *Dragon*) still remain untouched, in a most rotten state, above Portsmouth harbour, and without having had any of those sums allowed for her repair by Parliament, expended on her from the time of the first grant, in the year 1771, to the present day?

Lord *Mulgrave* admitted the honourable gentleman's charge, and agreed, that not one shilling had been laid out in repairing those ships, but said the money was applied to other naval purposes, and not put into a bag by the first Lord of the Admiralty, or into his pocket; that the estimate was the usual mode of raising money, but never meant to state the purposes the money was to be applied to; that if it was a crime, it was one that had been often practised ever since the reign of James II. Lord *Mulgrave*.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell*, to explain. He had never said, nor insinuated even a suspicion, that the noble Earl at the Admiralty- Mr. *Temple Luttrell*.

ralty-Board pocketed, or put into a bag for his private use, the monies thus voted: he therefore requested, that, whenever the noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] did him the honour to quote his words, or comment upon his ideas, he would do it ingenuously and faithfully; that there had been unpardonable extravagance somewhere, under a pretence of naval services, he was certain; and the fleet was in an alarming state of decay. Perhaps the first Lord of the Admiralty thought it the best policy to endeavour to mask this weakness, and boldly assert the direct contrary to facts, in hopes to deceive the courts of Versailles and Madrid: but surely the noble Lord is too experienced a statesman, and too well acquainted with the correctness of the intelligence of those powers, on such an important subject as this, to flatter himself that his impositions, so dangerous to the safety of your empire, have any success beyond the British Channel. The noble Lord is certainly responsible for any embezzlement of the public treasure through the medium of that department where he presides. As to the custom of ministers since the day of King James or King William, I could have wished the honourable member, before he went so far back in our history, to have read the address of this House, in the year 1711, to Queen Ann, upon abuses exactly similar to these. They were set forth to her Majesty as substantial grievances to her people, and atrocious crimes in the ministers so offending; and in her answer thereto of the 4th of June the same year, she promises them ample redress; which proves, that the money granted upon specific estimates must be applied to the purposes therein set forth, unless, upon proper official application, the Parliament agree to a different appropriation thereof.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke expressed his astonishment at what the Admiralty had dared to acknowledge: and, in the warmth of his indignation, threw the book of estimates at the Treasury-Bench; which, taking the candle in its way, had nearly struck Mr. Ellis's shins; Mr. Burke exclaiming, that it was treating the House with the utmost contempt, to present them with a fine gilt book of estimates, calculated to a farthing, for purposes to which the money granted was never meant to be applied. When former ministers had ventured to impose, they had the modesty to endeavour to conceal the crime; it remained for the present to have such confidence in their power, as to risk an acknowledgment of their prodigality, and to set at defiance the principles of the constitution, and authority of Parliament.

Governor *Johnstone* contended for the preservation and prosperity of the navy; and lamented that the generosity of the people could not induce ministers to employ the money to the principal uses intended, that of keeping ships in repair, and building our men of war with the best materials that can be purchased.

Mr. *J. Johnstone* and Mr. *Hopkins* likewise took the same line of argument. The motion was agreed to without a division.

Adjourned to February 16.

February 16.

Report from the Committee of Supply, that 293,216*l.* for the ordinary, and 488,695*l.* for the extraordinaries of the navy be granted for 1778.

Mr. *Temple Luttrell* objected to receiving the report; he insisted that the estimates of the navy for the last seven years would in future times be considered as monuments of the prostitution of Parliament, who have granted so enormous a sum as 6,150,000*l.* for the naval department since the present ministers came into office, and for the expenditure of which Parliament were allowed no authentic vouchers; and all the information they could get from the Board of Admiralty was, that the money had been obtained under false pretences, and had not been applied to the uses specified and allowed of by the House of Commons. He made the clerk read the address to the Crown in the reign of Queen Anne, setting forth this practice and imposition on the nation, as a most heinous grievance, and which her Majesty, in her answer, promised to redress.

Mr. *Luttrell* then moved, "That the proper officers do lay before the House an account of the actual disposal of all public monies granted since January 1, 1771, to December 25, 1777, specifying to what uses such grants have been applied."

This motion was seconded by Mr. *Thomas Townshend*, who spoke in reprehension of such unwarranted licence and prodigality on the part of the ministers.

Sir *Edward Astley* likewise said a few sentences on the same side of the question.

Lord *Mulgrave* moved the previous question, which was carried.

The report was agreed to.

Adjourned to February 17.

February

February 17.

A petition of several of the gentlemen, freeholders, and others, of the county of Norfolk, and of the city of Norwich, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that your petitioners observe, with the utmost concern and surprize, that extraordinary endeavours are used in this county, and in many other parts of the kingdom, to raise men and money for his Majesty's service by free gifts and contributions, not given and granted in a parliamentary course, which unusual and strained efforts (concerning the very legality of which they conceive doubts may justly be entertained) while Parliament actually sits, and at a time when his Majesty is in apparent peace with all the powers in Europe, strongly indicate some violent distemper in the state, to which its ordinary powers and means of supply are not sufficient. We most humbly apprehend, that if a war with any of the neighbouring nations threatens to break out, nothing can give more encouragement to it than the taking such measures as tend to prove this kingdom to be as much exhausted in its strength at the very commencement of foreign hostilities, as it has been at the close of the longest and most wasteful wars. Your petitioners have been also called upon, in a manner equally alarming, by persons of great power and rank in his Majesty's service, to raise men and money for supporting the constitutional authority of Great Britain. We hope and trust, that constitutional authority is safe and well supported in the affections of a loyal and a free people; we know of no attack upon, or resistance to, the operation of the laws in this county, or in this kingdom. Impaired, as we may be, in power or reputation abroad, we have however peace at home; but in the thirteen once flourishing and obedient colonies of Great Britain, his Majesty has no authority or other government to be supported. A misrepresentation of our unhappy situation would be a mockery of our distress. An empire is lost. A great continent in arms is to be conquered or abandoned. One whole British army of veteran troops has surrendered prisoners of war to the sudden levies of a new nation; another, abandoning a province which had been over-run in the last campaign, and after two engagements in the field successful without advantage, having marched out to take a view of an enemy posted in one of those places of inaccessible strength with which America abounds, has been compelled by necessity to march back to an open town, which they are obliged to fortify for winter-quarters at an enormous expence; the

the continent of America is, it seems, to be conquered by defeated and defensive armies. It is a project we cannot comprehend. Sixty thousand soldiers, a force of artillery (if we are to judge by the charge) such as never has been sent out of this kingdom, sixty thousand seamen voted, more than an hundred armed ships employed in this special service, an unheard-of expence in every sort of military supply, have, after three years struggle, brought things to such a state, that, instead of quieting our civil troubles, we are threatened with a foreign war, for which, after such an abundance (for we cannot call it profusion) of parliamentary grants increasing daily, and with the most exuberant recruiting funds, we are called upon to piece-out the deficiency of public wealth by private contributions; a nation of such power, as this reduced to such a state, must lose its reason and its feelings, together with its glory, if it could acquiesce in its condition. It is not in our choice to suppose that it can have happened without a fault somewhere: in the generals and armies the fault cannot be; if their known and tried characters did not forbid all suspicions of them, yet his Majesty's most gracious speeches from the throne make it improper for us to entertain the least doubt of their courage and conduct; but his Majesty has not forbid us to entertain doubts of the wisdom, care, and prudence, of those who conduct his affairs; and we trust, that the House of Commons, whose duty calls, and whose competence and constitution enables them to come to the bottom of those evils, will seriously enquire into the causes of our present calamitous situation, for we greatly fear that we, with the rest of your constituents, have been hitherto greatly deceived and deluded, with regard to the nature, the cause, and the importance of the American troubles, as well as concerning the means of quieting them, both legal and coercive: else we should not have the misfortune to see acts of Parliament made only to be sent back to be repealed; armies sent out to enforce them, only to be returned to us as prisoners under capitulation; and, to speak with the filial confidence of free subjects, we plainly declare ourselves unwilling to commit any more of our national glory to attaint, and the persons of more of our countrymen to foreign hardships and perils, without any common human security, that they shall not, by the same errors, be exposed to the same calamities and disgraces which many of those have fallen into who have already been sent forth. Without wise councils at home, we cannot have empire or reputation abroad; it is our duty to our Sovereign,

vereign, to whose person and illustrious House we have ever borne the most distinguished and zealous attachment, which compels us to lay before this honourable House this representation of his affairs; we shall ever be foremost in providing for ever reasonable and useful supply for the public service; but we cannot make ourselves the instruments of any faction, or grant money as a test of our support of it; if the Colonies can be brought to obedience, we are convinced, by sad experience, it must be by wise and lenient counsels, and by those in whom they have no experience of ill-will or incapacity, the one producing hatred, and the other contempt; for our domestic protection, we most humbly conceive, that our constitutional militia, which his Majesty has been enabled to call out, is the most effective and least invidious defence; twelve entirely new corps, consisting of fifteen thousand Highlanders of the northern part of the united kingdom, and of the towns of Manchester and Liverpool, appointed during the sitting, without the previous approbation of Parliament, and which can hardly be ready in time for American service, are not, we most humbly submit it to superior wisdom, the defence in which we can or ought, for obvious reasons, to trust, in preference to that more numerous and equally well-trained and well-affected body, the national militia; nor have we been given to understand, at a time when the war-establishment stands at comparatively low numbers, and those numbers far from complete, and at a time when the public burthens are so oppressive, for what reason new corps should be raised, or on what grounds: if a compliment was meant (at the expence of our finances, and what we conceive the most serviceable military arrangement) the compliment has been confined to the above mentioned parts of this kingdom. We do therefore with all earnestness and humanity pray, an enquiry into the true grounds and conduct of this unhappy civil war, that the best means may be found for bringing it to a speedy termination, for facilitating the restoration of concord and confidence to all the citizens of the British empire, to avert, if possible, a foreign war, or, if that be not possible, to take due care that rational, effectual, and becoming provision, in an orderly and parliamentary way, be made for our defence and safety; under the accumulated distress of foreign and civil hostility, we throw ourselves with the most perfect reliance on the care and wisdom (never more called for than in the present exigency) of a British House of Commons;

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Commons; on them we rest the last hopes of a deserving, but, we fear, an injured, deceived, and endangered people.

(Signed by five thousand four hundred.)

Ordered, That the said petition do lie upon the table.

Lord *North*, agreeable to his promise, rose to make his conciliatory propositions. He began by apologizing for the intended length of his speech, but he said it was necessary, from the quantity of matter he was obliged to go into, and from the perspicuity and clearness which he intended to make use of, in giving satisfaction upon every part of the detail. He declared, that from the beginning he had been uniformly disposed to peace. That the coercive acts which he had made, were such as appeared to be necessary at the time, though in the event they had produced effects which he never intended. That as soon as he found that they had not the effect which he intended, he proposed a conciliatory proposition before the sword was drawn. That at that time he thought, and that he still thinks, the terms of that proposition would form the happiest, most equitable, and most lasting bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies. That by a variety of discussions, a proposition, that was originally clear and simple in itself, was made to appear so obscure, as to go damned to America; so that the Congress conceived, or took occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing divisions, and introducing taxation among them in a worse mode than the former, and accordingly rejected it.

His idea never had been to draw any considerable revenue either in that way, or any other, from America; that his idea was, they should contribute in a very low proportion to the expences of this country. That he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many sorts of taxes that could not at all be laid on that country, and that few of them would prove worth the charge of collection; that the stamp act was the most judicious that could be chosen for that purpose, as it interested every man who had any dealing, or any property to defend or recover, in the collection of the tax, and the execution of the law: but notwithstanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly estimated, he did not believe its produce would have been a very considerable object; and if the people had confederated, as they seemed in general disposed to do, and in some places had actually done, to go on without stamps,

stamps, it would produce nothing at all, but would encrease the confusions of the country, if any attempts were made to disturb the transactions which were carried on without stamps. That accordingly he never had proposed any tax on America; he found them already taxed, when he unfortunately (as he still must say, whatever use has been, or might be made of the word) came into administration. That his principle of policy was to have had as little discussion on these subjects as possible, but to keep the affairs of America out of Parliament; that accordingly, as he had not laid, so did he not think it adviseable for him to repeal the tea-tax, nor did he ever think of any particular means for enforcing it.

That the act enabling the East-India company to send teas to America on their own account, and with the draw-back of the whole duty here, was a regulation which he thought it not possible the Americans could complain of, since it was a relief instead of an oppression; but that the ill-affected there, and persons concerned in a contraband trade, endeavoured to represent it as a monopoly; that some hand-bills that were scattered about at Boston, even supposed that he had taken off the American three-pence per pound duty, and that even on that supposition, the disaffected excited the people to a tumult, upon a principle totally distinct from all idea of taxation. This, therefore, as he never had meant taxation as his object in the last tea-act, so neither did he in his conciliatory proposition; but in the latter, considered it only as a means of union and good agreement between the two countries; that, therefore, in what he was going to propose he was uniform and consistent.

One of the bills he proposed to move for was, to quiet America upon the subject of taxation, and to remove all fears, real or pretended, of Parliament's ever attempting to tax them again, and to take away all exercise of the right itself in future, so far as regarded revenue. That as to the other particulars in controversy, he observed that the Americans had desired a repeal of all the acts passed since 1763; that this could not, however, be supposed to mean any more than those acts which had in some way or other pressed on them; for that some which had passed in 1769 were beneficial, and such as they themselves must consider in that light, being the granting of bounties and premiums, or the relaxation of former statutes that had been grievous to them. That as to the late acts, such as the Massachusetts charter, the fishery,

fishery, and the prohibitory bills, as they were the effect of the quarrel, they should cease ; and that as to complaints of matters of a various nature, authority should be given to settle them to the satisfaction of America.

That all these matters, consisting of a great variety, would be better left to the discussion of commissioners, than to be established here by act of Parliament, or by explicit powers given for each specific purpose ; for that the Americans in the negotiation would consider every concession made actually here, to be a part of the basis of the treaty, and therefore never to be receded from, and would accumulate new demands upon that ; therefore, as every thing of that kind might be variously modified by agreement, he was for leaving the whole to commissioners.

That the commissioners formerly appointed had very large powers, so indeed he understood those powers ; but that as others seemed to consider them as more limited than in reality they were, he should take care now to be very explicit, and that he would give them full powers to treat, discuss, and conclude upon every point whatever. That as some difficulties had arisen about the powers given to the commissioners, of treating with the Congress by name, he would now remove that difficulty, by empowering and enabling the commissioners to treat with the Congress as if it were a legal body, and would so far give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions would bind all America. That they should have powers to treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities or military commands ; with General Washington, or any other officer. That they should have a power, whenever they thought requisite, to order a suspension of arms. That they should have a power to suspend the operation of all laws. That they should have a power of granting all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its antient constitution, as it stood before the troubles ; any of those where the King nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, till the King's further pleasure be known.

That as the powers of the former commissioners had been objected to, so the Congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to be independent states.

states. As the Americans might claim their independence on the outset, he would not insist on their renouncing it till the treaty should receive its final ratification by the King and Parliament of Great Britain.

That the commissioners should be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when re-united : but to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty ; but that if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they were not to look for support from that part of the empire to whose expence they had refused to contribute. That it might be asked, if his sentiments had always been such with regard to taxation and peace, and why he had not made this proposition at a more early period ? To this he answered, his opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper time for offering terms of concession. That the House might remember, that at the beginning of the session he had declared, that such were his sentiments ; he at that time thought that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe had been more decisive, and that he knew nothing of General Burgoyne's misfortune. That when the news of that misfortune had arrived, and that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe could not be so improved, as to hinder General Washington from appearing with some superiority in the field, and that the King's troops were obliged to retire, and fortify themselves in winter quarters, the first thing that occurred to him, as the nation was still strong and vigorous, that they could raise a number of men, and that the resources were far from exhausted, that their strength should be exerted to repair the losses, and to pursue the war with vigour to a happy termination : but when he reflected upon the uncertainty of events, which had hitherto so much disappointed his expectation, and that in case of the utmost success, the terms which he now proposed must be substantially the same as he should propose in the height of victory, he saw no reason to prevent the protracting the war, the effusion of blood, and the immoderate expence, he would offer the same propositions now.

That he was convinced that they would considerably aid the operations of war, as they would themselves be aided by the force in America, which was still very great ; that in
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case nothing farther could be done by force, at any rate, they would be offered with more grace than hereafter.

That the events of war in America had turned out very differently from his expectation; that great force had been procured to be sent into America, but to little purpose hitherto.

That he must confess himself extremely disappointed in his expectations of the effect of our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into question, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been disappointed. That Sir William Howe had not only been in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, in goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but in numbers too, much superior to the American army which opposed him in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as strong as the army under General Gates. That all these things had happened in a manner very contrary to his expectation.

That, for his part, he never had made a promise which he did not perform, or receive an information which he did not communicate. That he only kept back the names of those who had given him information, and which it would be unfaithful and inhumane to divulge; that he promised a great army should be sent out, and a great army had been sent out; there were 60,000 men and upwards: that he had promised a great fleet should be employed, and a great fleet had been employed, and is now employed; that they should be provided with every kind of supply, and that they had been so most amply and liberally, and might be so for years to come; that if the House was deceived, they had deceived themselves.

On the whole, his concessions were from reason and propriety, not from necessity; that we were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raise many more men, and had many more men ready to send, for the navy was never in greater strength, the revenue very little sunk, and that he could raise the supplies for the current year, as a little time would shew; that he submitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his past and present conduct, to the judgment of the House.

Mr. Fox rose next: he said that he could not refuse his *Mr. Fox,* assent to the propositions made by Lord North; that he was very glad to find that they were, in the main, so ample and

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satisfactory, and that he believed they would be supported by all those with whom he had the honour to act. That they did not materially differ from those which had been made by a friend of his [Mr. Burke] about three years ago; that the very same arguments which had been used by the minority, and very nearly in the same words, were used by the noble Lord upon this occasion. He was glad to find, that he had wholly relinquished the right of taxation, as this was a fundamental; he was glad, also, that he had declared his intention of giving the commissioners power to restore the charter of Massachusetts-Bay; for giving the satisfaction which he [Lord North] proposed, it would be necessary for Parliament to give the same security, with regard to charters, which it had given with regard to taxation; that the Americans were full as jealous of the rights of their assemblies, as of taxation; and their chief objection to the latter was its tendency to affect the former.

He wished that this concession had been made more early, and upon principles more respectful to Parliament. To tell them, that if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves, was neither kind nor civil to an assembly, which, for so many years, had relied upon him with such unreserved confidence; that all public bodies, like the House of Commons, must give a large confidence to persons in office; and their only method of preventing the abuse of that confidence was to punish those who had misinformed them concerning the true state of their affairs, or conducted them with negligence, ignorance, or incapacity; that Lord North's arguments upon this subject might be all collected into one point, his excuses all reduced into one apology, his total ignorance.

He hoped and was disappointed; he expected a great deal, and found little to answer his expectations. He thought America would have submitted to his laws, and they resisted them. He thought they would have submitted to his armies, and they were beaten by inferior numbers. He made conciliatory propositions, and he thought they would succeed, but they were rejected. He appointed commissioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers, but he found they could not make peace, and nobody believed that they had any powers. That he had said many such things as he had thought fit in his conciliatory proposition; he thought it a proper method of quieting the Americans upon the affair of taxation. If any person should give himself the trouble of reading that proposition, he would find not one word of it

correspondent to the representation made of it by its framer. That the short account of it was, that the noble Lord in that proposition assured the colonies, that when Parliament had taxed them as much as they thought proper, they would tax them no more. That he would vote for the present proposition, because it was much more clear and satisfactory, for necessity had caused him to speak plain.

But if the concession should be found ample enough, and should be found to come too late, what punishment will be sufficient for those who adjourn Parliament, in order to make a proposition of concession, and then had neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the independent states of America? That he could answer with certainty for the truth of his information; it was no light matter, and came from no contemptible authority; he therefore wished that the ministry would give the House satisfaction in this interesting point, whether they knew any thing of this treaty, and whether they had not been informed previously to the making of their proposition of a treaty, which would make that proposition as useless to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Great Britain.

Mr. *T. Pitt* spoke with the greatest firmness against the *Mr. T.* general system of the ministry; said, that the repeal of the *Pitt.* stamp act was not only looked upon by the Americans, but by all Europe, as a solemn relinquishment of the claim of taxation; that the fatal renewing of that claim would cost this nation thirty millions of money, besides twenty or thirty thousand lives; for he considered every American killed as a fellow-subject lost.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said, he could not carry his complaisance so far as to thank the noble Lord for the propositions which he had produced, because he considered it as an act of necessity, not of choice. The noble Lord, indeed, had said, they should be fair and equitable. Admitting them to be so, they pass the severest censure on the noble Lord's conduct for these three years last, as they contain a total reversal of all those acts, and consequently declare them to have been all unfair and unequitable. What satisfaction then could the noble Lord give to this injured country, for the millions of money and thousands of lives which have been expended in this unequitable war? What reparation could the noble Lord make to the fatherless children and widows, and a great country, which he has made desolate, and has oppressed?

*Sir Philip
Jennings
Clerke.*

The noble Lord, he said, had taken credit to himself for having mentioned the word conciliation the first day of the session. He was willing to allow him more; he talked of it, he said, on the news of General Burgoyne's defeat; the noble Lord was alarmed and frightened, and he thought it necessary to throw out some lure to keep his friends together. Unluckily for this country, the noble Lord just at that time received a cordial which elevated him exceedingly; it was an offer from Manchester to raise a regiment: he raised his voice, and began to talk loud of the strength and spirit of the nation, and turned his mind to his favourite object, the prosecution of the war. The Parliament was adjourned for seven weeks, and the noble Lord raised an army during their absence: but he gave a bad specimen of the strength of this country; for he told us, that he could not raise seven or eight thousand men in England, and was to get them from the Highlands of Scotland. So much for the strength of the country. As to the spirit of it, he could only observe, that a good national spirit might be of infinite use to a country, well directed and well applied: but, otherwise, it would have the same effect as spirit in a blind horse; if you turn him loose, it will make him run his head against the wall, and dash his brains out. The noble Lord had lately said, he had been a good friend to his country. Great men, he said, should be judged by their works, not their words. He wished to take a comparative view of the state of this country at the present time, with what it was in the time of the administration of the Earl of Chatham. That noble Lord had raised his country to the highest pitch of honour and glory; from the time he left administration, it has been gradually declining, and is now got to the very edge of a precipice, from which it is likely to fall, perhaps never to rise again.

Ever since the noble Lord had been in administration, he had told the House that he came to the helm when the vessel was in danger, and he would bring her safe into harbour. The noble Lord had not proved so able a navigator as he thought himself to be; he carried too much sail at first, and lost his masts in the storm; he then began to throw all the valuable part of his cargo overboard; he had kept pumping, and pumping, and pumping ever since, and can now hardly keep the vessel above water. The noble Lord had now set up some jury masts, but he would never be able to steer her safe into harbour; the passengers security was in imminent danger; they required, and had a right to demand a better man to be put

at the helm. It would be difficult, he said, for any man now to free her from the impending danger; but it was just and fair to let some other person attempt it. But to drop the metaphor: the noble Lord, he said, having failed of the means of coercion, had adopted another language; his hopes now were in the natural good disposition of the people of America to this country. He did not think, he said, the noble Lord was quite the proper person to gain upon their affections, or soothe them into compliance; if there was any chance yet remaining of recovering them from the power of France, and regaining their confidence, it was most likely to be effected by those people who had always shewn a good disposition towards them, and not by those who had taken every opportunity to ill-treat and abuse them, who had added insult to injury, and waded deep in their blood. If the door of conciliation was not already shut, it could be open only to such men as they had reason to think had been well inclined towards them, and on whose friendly dispositions towards them they might securely place some confidence.

Mr. *Baldwin* declared he had been deceived by the minister; that three years ago he asked him whether a revenue *win.* was meant by the claim? That he was answered, it was; and upon that ground alone he had hitherto voted with the ministry.

Mr. *Aubrey* said, that he rose to give his assent to the noble Lord's propositions, though with little hope, he confessed, of their producing any good effect; for that, whatever the Americans might suffer by the continuance of the war, he could not be persuaded they would ever be willing to receive the olive branch, when held out to them by hands so stained with the blood of their countrymen: but, as he had upon a former occasion, been for a similar question, he thought it a duty he owed to consistency, to be for the one proposed by the noble Lord, as the avowed object of it at least was peace. The time he had just alluded to, he said, was the year 1775, when he voted for the motion which was made to the House by an honourable gentleman [Mr. Burke] for the repeal of the American compulsory acts. He gave his vote then from two motives; one was, his being one of those who, from the very beginning of these unhappy differences, thought the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to tax the Americans while they were unrepresented in it; the other was, his thinking that such a repeal, solicited as it then was by the united voice of the whole continent, would have brought things back

to their old state of tranquility and confidence. The great objection then made was, the dignity of Parliament. It was in vain to urge, that the best support of dignity was justice; that maxim was out of date, and unattended to. We began with condemning without first hearing, and proceeded accordingly. The consequence has been, that we are now, after an enormous waste of blood and treasure, reduced to the necessity of giving up both the dignity of Parliament and the claim of taxation together. So much was clearly implied in the noble Lord's proposed suspension of the compulsory acts. But in the mean time, what have the Americans been doing? They, Sir, provoked, and rendered desperate by our unrelenting rigour, have disavowed all dependence on, and connection with, this country. They did this, likewise, at a time when their affairs wore but an unpromising aspect; when their paper currency was in the greatest discredit, their negotiations at the different courts in Europe were hopeless, and our army, that had invaded their country, was not only numerous, but victorious; an army, Sir, of which the Americans seemed to think as Hannibal thought of the Romans,

Quos opimus

Fallere & effugere est triumphus.

The balance of success, however, has since that period turned in their favour. And if we were not able to avail ourselves of their fear, I leave every man to judge, what the present ministers have to expect from their affection. That their affairs are comparatively in a prosperous condition, and ours declining, must, I think, be evident to every one from the propositions now offered to us. It is true, that the noble Lord [Lord North] has, with an air of fortitude, just assured us, that "our army is great and powerful, and that our navy is great and powerful;" but would those ministers, [Lords North and Germaine] who talked of nothing less than unconditional submission, and bringing America prostrate at their feet, would they, Sir, have voluntarily repealed those obnoxious acts, if they were not convinced, that our strength was inadequate to the contest? And do we at this time expect, that, after having resisted and baffled our utmost efforts, they will ever sheath the sword without sufficient security against the injuries they have complained of being repeated? Will not the solemn official promise of Lord Hillsborough (the making of which promise ought to be as much resented by every member of the British Parliament, as the breach of it is by every American) I say, will not that alone justify the

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Americans in declining any negotiation with men, who, having thus laid the foundation of the war in perfidiousness, have built upon it with cruelty? I cannot, therefore, flatter myself with the hopes of reconciling America with the proposed bill. Those privileges and immunities for which the Americans have ventured their lives and fortunes, they will not, now the hazard is so nearly over, trust for a moment in the hands they have just rescued them from. To what then does the present motion tend? Not to pacify the Americans, who will never be contented with terms, while they have reason to distrust those who offer them. No, Sir, it tends only to amuse England by a delusive prospect of reconciliation, and thereby to suspend at least the vengeance of an injured and insulted public.

Mr. *Grenville* assured the House, he did not intend to trouble them, if he had not been particularly adverted to by the noble Lord, who denied that he had been misled or deceived; that he rose to assert again, with indignation, that he had been grossly deceived by the uniform language of government for three years past; that with regard to the present question, the noble Lord had opened so little the nature of the commission, that he was hardly prepared to comment upon it, but that his ardent wish was for peace. He then referred to the hint thrown out by Mr. Fox, of the alliance between France and America, and called upon the noble Lord to answer that fact, especially as the information tallied with what he himself had heard from undoubted authority. That from the same authority he knew, that a very considerable body of forces had marched, within this fortnight, from the interior provinces of France, and that the language held by that power was of the most offensive nature; he therefore insisted on having these facts answered, and concluded with reminding the House, that these were the victories promised to them, this the revenue to the landed gentlemen, and this the triumph to Parliament: but assured government, that though he might differ from them, he would not hang upon any proposition which looked like peace.

Lord *North* at length answered, that he could not say from authority that the treaty alluded to was signed; that, indeed, it was possible, nay too probable, but not authenticated by the ambassador.

His Lordship's motions were,

That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means

means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of America.

That this proposition be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House.

That leave be given to bring in a bill for declaring the intention of the Parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America.

Which were agreed to without a division. Adjourned to February 19.

February 19.

Conciliatory bills brought in and read.

February 20.

Same bills read a second time and committed. Adjourned to February 23.

February 23.

Mr. Serj.
Adair.

Previous to the House going into a committee on the two conciliatory bills, Mr. Serjeant *Adair* moved, that it be an instruction to the committee of the bill for appointing commissioners, &c. that they have power to make provision for nominating the commissioners by the bill. He said, that this was no infringement on the prerogative of the Crown, this was no matter that lay within its ordinary federal capacity; it was a commission appointed by Parliament, in order to treat about the rights of Parliament itself, the suspending its laws, and the surrender of its rights, or of what it had always considered or had claimed as such; that for the House to give blindly such a power out of their hands, to be exercised at the mere pleasure of the Crown, and by persons to them utterly unknown, was in effect a complete surrender of the whole constitution of this country into the hands of the King; that, therefore, he thought himself bound to resist this most unconstitutional measure, by every means in his power; that as to any difficulties which might be supposed in the execution of this mode of appointment, they had been all completely got over in the East India bill, where, with such sufficient facility, Parliament had nominated commissioners for a matter of mere executive government, and one in which no parliamentary rights or powers were at all concerned; that he hoped, as himself and the gentlemen in the late minority had given, and would give so clear a support to the conciliatory measures of the minister, late as they were adopted, he also hoped the minister, on his part, would likewise act a fair and candid part with them, and not take them

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in for a dangerous extension of prerogative, whilst they were joining him in an attempt to restore peace to the country.

Mr. *Moysey* opposed it, as taking the executive power out of the hands of the Crown. That to hold out to the world at this time, that Parliament entertained a jealousy of the Crown, was not likely to promote the good effects which were proposed by this bill. That it would be a violent act, after having empowered and directed the Crown to carry on the war, after having authorized the Crown to make peace, if it could have been effected by the submission of America, for the legislature on a sudden to hold their hand and say, the Crown shall not negotiate for peace. That there was no instance of Parliament taking such an appointment as this into their own hands, except in the reign of Richard the Second, which act was in a few years repealed in terms of reproach, as having usurped upon the royal province. That the progress of such a business in that House would be attended with the grossest inconvenience; that the House must agree or disagree among themselves upon the nomination; if they disagreed, that circumstance of itself would be sufficient to shew the impropriety of 550 people coming to an election of so important a nature; not to mention the inconvenience of such a dissention going over to America, or the awkwardness of a debate upon names and particular individuals. If, on the other hand, the House agreed, and took at once the nomination of the King's ministers, it would come to the same thing as if it had been left originally to the Crown, with this material difference, operating to their own disadvantage; that if the appointment should be a bad one, they would preclude themselves from all right of calling the ministers to an account for misadvising the Crown, an inconvenience that would ever apply to every instance where an attempt should be made to blend the legislative and executive power together.

Mr. *Wedderburne* said, that the powers intended to be given by the commission could not be safely executed but by persons appointed by the Crown; that the Crown had been intrusted with the appointment of commissioners to treat upon the union of the two kingdoms, and had had power to suspend the acts of Parliament which prevented the free trading intercourse between the two kingdoms during the treaty; that they were ordered to keep the whole transaction secret, and that they had so kept it; that nothing could give a proper weight and support to the commissioners but the perfect confidence which Parliament shewed that they reposed in government;

ment ; that the nomination of commissioners in that House would prove a thing clearly impracticable, on account of the indecent, personal discussions that it would give rise to ; and he declared, that if that question should be carried, and the commissioners nominated by Parliament, he would be against the whole commission, the bill, and the plan they belonged to.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* said, nothing could so effectually defeat the purpose of the commission, as the least thought that Parliament reposed any confidence in the present servants of the Crown ; that this would be a perpetual subject of distrust, jealousy, and animosity to the Americans ; that this ministry, or any persons of their appointment, could not have any title to the confidence of America. The ministers were all the declared enemies of America, and were only brought to a late and abject submission, by a failure in their attempts to oppress them by force ; that the commissioners whom they appointed must accordingly be persons of their own stamp and character ; persons who would be more solicitous to screen ministers than to serve their country, and are qualified to irritate, rather than to appease America ; that the secretary of state for the colonies (the author of all the violent and coercive measures) was by his office to have the nomination of the commissioners. Suppose, the first part of the terms should be the punishment of that very minister, would the persons nominated by him be impartial commissioners, and fit for their duty in such a case ? That he was astonished at the insolence of ministers, who when they should be in sackcloth and ashes, for the ruin which they have brought on their country, were presumptuously making demands of unlimited confidence, and calling to have the few remaining powers which had been left to Parliament surrendered into their hands, and be disposed of at their pleasure.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* said, that the present was a question of men ; that the measure was decided upon, which was to give a full power to dispose of all the legislative acts, and all the legislative powers of Parliament, so far as they concerned America. That there never had been such a trust delegated to men, and that therefore nothing ever was more important than the proper choice of them ; that if ministers had hitherto shewn, in any one instance, that they had formed a right judgment on men, he would admit, that they ought to be trusted with the nomination of men upon this occasion. Next to honesty, (which he would not dispute with the ministers) the ground of confidence in men was founded on two things ; that they

were

were incapable of deceiving others, and were alike incapable of being deceived themselves. That the ministers had been publicly charged in that House by those who had all along supported their measures, with having deceived them; and their justification had been, that they were themselves deceived in every particular relating to America. Now, take it which way you please, he said, whether they were deceivers, as their friends assert, or deceived, as themselves alledge, they are not fit on either ground to be trusted; that they, who had judged so ill of the men they had credited, in all their information concerning America, would not judge better in the choice of the men whom they nominated to get rid of the fatal consequences of that ill information. That their constant defence, with regard to the ill success of their army in America, was the incapacity, error, or neglect of the generals they had appointed; that though he did not believe this was the cause, yet on their own confession, they had made a wrong judgment of the persons they had employed; and if they were so unhappy in the choice of generals, they would not prove more fortunate in their choice of negotiators. He apprehended, that no good could come of any negotiation whatsoever intrusted to their hands; that the affair was not too little to be undertaken by Parliament itself. If parliamentary rights must be negotiated upon, it was fit to be done by a committee of the two Houses of Parliament.

In order to settle India affairs, a committee of the House had sat in Leadenhall-Street; they might as well sit in America; the object is more important, if the distance is greater; that he saw the drift of the whole; the ministers thought to pay their court, by extending the prerogative, in proportion as they had lessened the empire; and that this war (which was pretended to be made to prevent the King's having a revenue in America independent of Parliament, and to assert the power of the House of Commons, to tax all the British dominions) now terminated in a surrender of the right of taxation, and of all other parliamentary rights to advise or check the power of the crown.

Governor *Johnstone* supported the same side. He blamed, Gov. *Johnstone* what he called the weakness of the argument drawn from the supposed impossibility of discussing the merits of commissioners in that House; said, that it had not delayed the bill for regulating the East-India company, for that the clause appointing the commissioners had been postponed until the rest of the bill was finished. He said, that the commissioners

ought to be men of great weight, persons if not well, at least not ill, affected to the Americans; men who were known to have an opinion of their own, not merely looking towards the court.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt thought it not very material, whether the commissioners were named by the Crown, or by the House; but was of opinion, that they would be more responsible, if they were named by the Crown. He hoped, that as they had proceeded so far with unanimity, that they would not now divide, except upon the most essential points.

Lord John Cavendish.

Lord John Cavendish seemed to think the difference between sending out commissioners by the Crown or Parliament was of much importance; but he considered also the expediting these bills to be so necessary, that he would have nothing started in the way of that object; that the ministers had threatened the minority with the rejection of their own plan of reconciliation, if they were not to have it exactly in their own way; that the public would easily see who was the true mother of the child, by the care of preserving it.

The question was put, and the motion rejected, The House did not divide.

Mr. Powys.

Mr. Powys moved an instruction to the committee on the conciliatory bills, to receive a clause to repeal the Massachusetts's charter act.

The Lord Advocate supported it.

Mr. Jolliffe.

Mr. Jolliffe. I fear it will be necessary for me to take up more of your time than I could wish. Possessed neither of eloquence to please, or oratory to enforce my opinions, I am under the necessity of stating in simple language my sentiments; sentiments which flow from a heart anxious for the good of the state, and a mind unawed and unbiassed, but by a true regard for the interest of my country.

Sir, at the commencement of this war, I troubled you with declaring my hearty aversion to it. I endeavoured to convince you, that should it prove successful, the utmost we could hope, the utmost advantage we could gain, was an abject submission of the colonies through fear; a submission which it was not the interest of this country to desire, and which, as it originated in terror, must end in rebellion; for there is no axiom more true, than that authority which is established and supported by force alone, may and will be resisted when that force is diminished or removed; nor is any proposition more clear, than that America encreasing the number of her inhabitants,

bitants, must soon rise above any apprehensions from your power.

I told you, Sir, you might smother the flame with coals, but the fire would burst forth in general conflagration; you might conquer, but you never would convince by the sword. I then opened a more dismal prospect. I supposed (which was then received as visionary and ideal) that your armies might be resisted, perhaps defeated; that instead of seeing America at your feet, you might find her brave, resolute, and determined; that the war might last some years; that you might shed your noblest, dearest blood; that you might exhaust all your resources: that France might aid the colonies, and you not dare to resent the insult; that the kingdom might be reduced to the abyss of distress in which it now is; I then asked the noble Lord, who was and still is the ostensible conductor of the affairs of this nation, what amends he could make to those he had involved in this calamity; to those gentlemen who credulously had pledged their lives and fortunes in support of his measures. Having thus publicly avowed my aversion to the war, having stated in the strongest language the consequences which I foresaw, I have been thought inconsistent in giving my support to the continuance of what I disapproved in the commencement. Sir, I ask your forgiveness for entering into this matter; but it is a duty I owe my own character, to reconcile my conduct. At that conjuncture, before the sword was drawn, two alternatives offered themselves, the one was plain, easy, and to my understanding obvious; it could have taken little time, it could have cost neither blood nor treasure; if it had failed, the last might have been adopted; with much better pretence we then might have drawn the sword: a conciliatory conduct could not have inflamed the sore, but hostility lacerated the wound, and has dismembered half the empire. Before this cruel war commenced, I was anxious to obtain that tranquility by lenient measures, which hostility could never effect. The majority of this House, the whole nation, were of a different opinion, they rejected the palm, and drew the sword. Hostilities being commenced, and independence declared, the idea of accommodation vanished; nothing but vigour could regain America; it called for unanimity, it called for all your exertions; it was my duty then to support the honour of my country. When America defied our force, we should have betrayed the very cowardice with which we have branded them, to have sued for peace; as while there was a possibility of conciliation, conciliatory measures ought to have been adopted; so

when reconciliation was passed, force could only be met by force.

Sir, it is always painful to differ from those we respect, and in questions of small importance, if every man was to follow his own caprice, no government could last a day; the business of this empire would be anarchy and confusion: but when the fate of thousands is at stake, when millions may be wasted, and an empire lost, he ill deserves to sit here, who can from any motive sacrifice his opinion. It is not in the power of the Crown to bribe a man of property on such occasions. It is not an empire that can pay a man for his own destruction. Sir, since America hath avowed independence, and professedly condemned your power, it is my sincere opinion, that the measures of government have not only been defensible, but no others could have been adopted; and I am sure, no minister, who regarded his own situation, and wished the real interest and honour of his country, could have pursued any other line but that of vigorous hostility. That vigour has failed, and indisputably great blame and censure must fall somewhere; whether the neglect hath been in the instructions sent from hence, or in the executing them, time and enquiry must determine: that enquiry cannot be distant, not only into the failure of General Burgoyne, but into the conduct of the whole war. Peace on almost any terms must now be obtained. It may be asked, would you treat with the Congress? I say, Yes. Would you confer with rebels? Without a doubt. You have tried force, you have failed; without some terms, not only America is lost, but this nation is undone. The whole nation call for peace, and if you have it not, there will be war at home.

Sir, I am sorry on this, as on other occasions, to observe, the noble Lord [Lord North] so blends every proposition with much that I like, and something that I dislike, that although he gains my assent, I am unable to give him my hearty support. As at the commencement of the war, the address was such a mixture, that it deprived me of giving my vote; so at this period, though I approve what is intended to be done, I disapprove the mode of doing it; as I wish for peace, there appear to me more probable measures to accelerate it than those now offered to your consideration.

Sir, it is a maxim with me, it is one of my first studies, when I confer a favour, to do it in such a manner, as shall render it most agreeable; when I make an offer, I would so model it, as to render it most acceptable: whatever I mean to do, I love to do at once; whatever concessions we mean to
make,

make, that should be our first proposal. I, Sir, detest the appearance of insidiousness. Whatever this country means to concede to America, should be made the first step; that first step should be palatable. Instead of suspending the obnoxious acts, let us be open, and repeal them. The noble Lord avows an intention finally to repeal them, why not do it at first? America does and will suspect you of designs, if that is not your first measure. We are not in a condition to haggle: we have lost an empire; it is an humiliating consideration; but we are in the state of suppliants. He that flatters us with contrary assertions, deceives. Sir, I trust we are not an undone people: but our greatness is vanity; that vanity has been our ruin. It is the fancies of our wealth and power that have undone us. It is the want of knowledge of our own ability and strength, and our ignorance of that of our opponents, that hath thus reduced us.

Sir, I have digressed; but will return to enforce my earnest wish, the repeal of the obnoxious acts. Will not the repeal of these laws convince America, that we are in earnest in our declarations of amity? May it not sow divisions, and disunite the Congress? May it not induce at least some of the provinces to hold out a wish of conciliation with the parent-state? While your acts stand unrepealed, it is their interest to be united; remove the cause of that union, and the effect will cease; remove this ground of jealousy, shew them you are convinced of your own folly and rashness, and their regard for you will return.

Suppose they have entered into any treaty with France, is not this the most probable means to render it void? Sir, if they are convinced of your sincerity, they will deplore that connection, and will find some method to frustrate its success. Suppose that every province may not unite in opinion against this proposal, a treaty must be opened with that province which will alarm the rest; until every thing is agreed on, no one province can safely join you; and as much time must be taken in treaty, that province who wishes to return to its connections with this country, must be subject to the attacks and depredations of the others, or must admit your troops, and then submit to whatever terms you think proper to impose; if you repeal the acts, they may then open their arms to you and they are safe.

The suspension wears the face of insidiousness, and you cannot imagine America so blind, as not to suspect such a design: if it should strike them in this light, you will continue to alienate and provoke instead of soothing and attaching;
you

you will make them continue to believe, that your offers of conciliation are not only feigned, but that the same plan against their freedom lurks behind the mask.

Sir, I deprecate a British Parliament to be themselves, to be open and liberal, to remember that they are treating with their children, and that the fate of the empire depends on this act.

Mr. Ellis.

Mr. Ellis said, it was against the law of Parliament to receive clauses for the repeal of acts when two stages of parliamentary discussion were passed. To repeal a law was the same thing as to bring in a new bill, and ought to be debated both on the introduction and second reading. He added, that no doctrine could be so dangerous to the liberty of the subject, as to maintain a right in the Crown to grant charters independent of the power of Parliament.

Mr. Wedderburne was of the same opinion.

Sir William Meredith.

Sir William Meredith replied, that no order of the House could be pleaded in bar of receiving a clause for repealing those acts that were obnoxious to the Americans; it was always in the direction of the House. A clause to introduce novel, undigested, foreign matter, in the middle stage of a bill, ought seldom to be admitted. But it was the constant practice, not only consonant to discretion, but even binding on the good sense of the House, to receive clauses that were essentially necessary to the execution of the law proposed, more especially in the case of repeals of bills, that were fully known, and had already gone through their full course of discussion. So necessary was the repeal of the offensive acts to the present bill, that without a total repeal, it would be not only nugatory but mischievous.

The right of charters being held independent of the power of Parliament, had not been fairly stated. It had been said, that a *charter being the act of one branch of the legislature only, could never stand against the united power of all the three branches of the legislature*. But there are such things as unalienable rights; and the foundation of every unalienable right is this; when he who is competent to convey, *conveys*; and he who is competent to receive, *accepts*: such conveyance on one hand, and acceptance on the other, whether by gift, purchase, or any other consideration, constitute a right, which by the law and constitution of England, is *unalienable*, and unless by consent or forfeiture cannot be taken away. Charter rights are at least as sacred as the rights of property. And what situation would property be, if it was an argument for depriving a man of his fortune, that the conveyance was the act of one

one man only, and could never stand against the united powers of the legislature of Great Britain? But if Parliament, which is instituted to preserve, should assume a power to violate private or public rights, that spirit which had often been so gloriously and successfully exerted against the dispensing power of kings, would now be called forth against the dispensing power of parliaments.

February 24.

Mr. *Powys* moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Mr. *Powys*. Massachusetts's charter act, which was agreed to.

The House went into a committee on the two conciliatory bills.

Mr. *Burrell* said, he had hitherto acted in support of the Mr. *Bur-* measures of government, because he had been persuaded they *rel.* were fighting for the rights of Parliament; that taxation was the primary object of the contest; that therefore he should think it very unwarrantable to give up that ground till some concessions had been made by America. He stated some objections to the other bill, to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners. That the bill did not specify on what subjects they were to treat, and on what they were not to treat. Were they to treat with the Americans on the subject of their independence? There was nothing in this bill to prevent them from doing so. He objected likewise to the power of causing a cessation of hostilities, and pointed out some inconveniencies attending it.

Mr. *Moreton* said, he had very great objections to both the Mr. *Mors-* bills; but as he was not able at that time to go through with *ton.* them, he gave notice, he meant to oppose them in some other stage, though this was the most regular time of doing it. But he still declared his constancy in his old opinion concerning taxation, and that it ought to be enforced. He had likewise an insuperable objection to the other bill, and that was, that it was in the power of the commissioners to treat on the independence of America: the very idea of such a thing would encourage them to demand it. There should be a clause in the bill, to oblige the Americans to make a formal renunciation of that claim.

Lord *Beauchamp* was of the same opinion, as to the renun- Lord *Beau-* ciation of independence. *champ.*

General *Frazer* went through the whole subject of the Ame- Gen. *Fra-* rican dispute for these last fifteen or sixteen years; gave his *ser.* opinion on the stamp-act of the late Mr. Grenville, whom he spoke of in terms of the highest regard and affection. He thought the repeal of the stamp-act an unwise measure, be- cause

cause he had great reason to think it would have been acquiesced in ; but allowed that the repeal was in effect a virtual renunciation of the exercise of the right of taxation, and therefore that it should not have been again taken up. He then went through the whole of the subsequent proceedings, and lamented the despondency of the ministry in making such concessions, when he was assured the resources of this country were adequate to the subduing of the rebellion. He hoped, however, that if these bills had not effect, we should be all unanimous in prosecuting the war.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* answered directly the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that in his opinion the bills would have no effect ; that it was too late ; that the reason of his giving all assistance to the bills was, that there was a possibility, and but a possibility, of their success ; there was a chance of it, though it was so small, that it was beyond the power of calculation ; but yet, as the prize was so great, as that of a peace with dependent America, it was worth the trial. He stated some objections as to the parts of the principal bill. The powers of the commissioners were not large enough : they should have the power of suspending the statutes affecting America made before 1763, as well as afterwards.

Mr. Wedderburne.

Mr. *Wedderburne* began with declaring his reason for approving of the present bills was not grounded on despondency ; he was well persuaded our strength was still great, our resources almost inexhaustible ; and indeed his chief hopes were formed on our strength, and on the respectable situation of our affairs ; for that if we were not strong, and capable of going on with the war, he was afraid there was little hopes of success in negotiation. But his reason for promoting the present measures was, that the prolongation of the war, though attended with success, would not compensate for the inconveniencies of pursuing it. He had not the least doubt but his Majesty's arms would be crowned with complete success in the end ; but he thought a speedy termination by this means was preferable to conquest by length of time. With regard to the particular parts of the bill, he confessed he should be rather of opinion to have given the commissioners unlimited powers, and leave the rest entirely to their own discretion. He then answered some objections that had been made by two gentlemen at the beginning of the debate ; said, that revenue was not the cause of the war, that the real spring of it was to crush a spirit of independence ; having in the commencement of his speech commented on the conduct of gentlemen who pre-

pretended to receive the bill at first with great pleasure, but have afterwards raised many objections to it.

This called up Mr. *Townshend* and Mr. *Burke*, both of *Mr. Burke.* whom defended themselves from the reflections thrown out by the last honourable gentleman on the conduct of that side of the House: declared, that the most formidable objections to the body of the bills were made by those who had all along supported the destructive war which gave occasion to the present bills: on the other hand, what was the conduct of these gentlemen who had endeavoured to prevent things coming to the present unhappy crisis? Though they at first declared their fear, it was too late; they had given no trouble but what shewed their real desire of the propositions taking effect. They yesterday proposed an instruction to the committee, which, if received, would only have given the bill more weight, and those who are to execute it greater dignity. This, though certainly well intended, was urged with moderation, and was carried against them without a division. Mr. *Burke* went through many of the former arguments with fresh vigour.

Lord *North* said, he took that opportunity to declare, what- *Lord North.* ever different opinions there might be concerning the powers of the commissioners, that they would have positive instructions not to allow of, or to treat concerning, the claim of independency set up by America; they must treat as subjects, or not at all. He should not now enter into a discussion concerning the dissensions between the two countries; he had gone into this at large a few days ago.

Mr. *Wilmot* said, that though the motion for the Speaker *Mr. Wil-* to leave the chair was to go into a committee on the first bill, *mot.* he begged leave to consider the two bills as composing one plan, and though it was more regular to debate the various parts of them when they came to a committee, he could not help now saying, that he thought the bills upon the whole were extremely well calculated to answer the purposes for which they were intended; that there was a peculiar propriety in not inserting in the bill a clause for obliging the Americans to rescind their vote of independence; because, if they treat at all under this bill, it must be *as subjects*, and the demand of such a formal and express renunciation, might prevent their proceeding at all in the treaty, though they should otherwise wish it. He intended at present to speak chiefly in favour of the *principle* of the bill; a principle he had been pursuing, and on which he had acted ever since he had a seat in the House; namely, of restoring union and harmony, by a revival of the laws relative to America. That before he de-

livered his own genuine and unbiaſſed ſentiments, he deſired to do juſtice to the ſentiments of thoſe with whom he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to differ, on which ever ſide of the Houſe that difference might be. He was very far from thinking, that this war was originally cauſed, or has been kept up ſince, either by a ſpirit of oppreſſion on one ſide of the Houſe, or by a ſpirit of faction on the other. He was perſuaded, that there were very few gentlemen on either ſide of the Houſe, who had not all along acted, and who would not continue to act from the conviction of their own mind, and to the beſt of their judgment; a judgment, perhaps, far ſuperior to his own: but that it appeared to him, in a queſtion of this important nature, to be incumbent on every man to *form* an opinion, and much more ſo, when he had formed one, to *act up to it*. His opinion was not the opinion of the day: but had been the conſtant guide of his conduct; namely, *to have given the Americans ſome ſatisfaction on the ſubject of unlimited taxation, and to ſhew a willingness to reviſe the laws by which they might think themſelves aggrieved*; for though it is now ſaid, that revenue was not the object of the war, and that if it had, it would not have been worth contending for, yet he thought every body muſt allow, taxation was certainly the origin of the quarrel; it was the firſt cauſe of it; it was firſt in point of time, if not in point of *conſequence*; and though the queſtion was more complicated when he took his ſeat in the Houſe, yet he thought much depended on the firſt ground of the conteſt, as the ſubſequent ſteps might be only the conſequences of the different ideas of the two countries on that queſtion. He always thought till ſomething was done on this ſubject, there would be no end of the diſpute; as a proof of which, he referred to the two bills on the table. He had no doubt of the competency of Parliament to tax America; but on the other hand, he had no doubt of the unreaſonableneſs of our exerciſing this right before ſome limitation was put to it. This right was new in point of exerciſe. We had hitherto been contented with the reſtraints on their commerce. The conduct of the conſtitution in ſimilar but much leſs ſtrong inſtances, and above all, the peculiar ſituation of America, did in his opinion require us to *withhold the exerciſing* of this right, though in theory it certainly belonged to us. He entered at large into the reaſons that induced him to be of this opinion, which were chiefly the peculiar ſituation of America, which prevented the inhabitants of that country from having the ſame ſecurity that every *unrepresented* individual here enjoys, becauſe he ſubmits to no tax but what the *represented* equally

equally submit to : and therefore, though he had no interest in the *actual* representation, he safely confided that those who make the laws, either by themselves or their representatives, will lay no unnecessary burden, for if they did, all must equally bear a share of it. But this was by no means the lot of the American : he must have submitted to taxes, not only which he was not concerned in imposing, but which those who did impose them did not bear any share of, and therefore he wanted that security for their equality and justice. He did not think this country would have abused this power by a grievous exercise of it : but he never understood it to be an argument in favour of a contested right, that the persons who were to exercise it, would have the *goodness* not to abuse it, and especially when a tax was laid avowedly to establish the *principle* of an unlimited right of taxation. That America should contribute was highly reasonable, and what America herself did not deny : but it was said by a learned gentleman, that the real spring of the war was to crush a spirit of independence, that was always designed, and now actually set up in defiance of the legislature of this country. He said, he did not mean to justify the Americans ; their conduct in taking up arms justified us in repelling force by force : but he believed independence was no more *their* design in the beginning, than oppression was *ours* at any period of the contest. If it was, there was no excuse for not proceeding with more vigour at first, and no ground to hope for accommodation now. He confessed, he had still hopes of a permanent reconciliation, chiefly founded on this, that the claim of independence was a *consequence* of the quarrel, and not the original design of that country in its collective capacity, however some individuals might wish it : but said, if he had thought the scruples of America concerning taxation less reasonable than he did think them, he saw no solid objection before we had entered into this civil war, to the having satisfied the Americans on the subject of *unlimited taxation*, to having offered some security that we would not abuse this power, that they might have known *explicitly* the footing on which we meant to put them *when conquered*, and which might perhaps have saved us that experiment. The case was now, indeed, a good deal altered. He wished something effective had been done sooner, but hoped it was still not too late.

Mr. *Van* closed the debate, and kept the House in a continual laugh during the whole course of his speech.

The blanks in the commissioners bill were filled up, and it was ordered to be reported.

February 25.

Order of the day to go into a committee on the bill relative to American taxation.

Mr. Powys. Mr. Powys moved, that it be an instruction to the committee, to receive a clause to repeal the American tea act passed in 1767. Agreed to.

Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke moved, that it be an instruction to the committee, to extend the provisions of the bill to the West Indies. Agreed to.

The House went into a committee. The blanks were filled, and the bill ordered to be reported.

The following is a copy of the bills after they were amended.

A bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America.

Upon the third reading, the title was altered thus :
For removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces and plantations in North America and the West Indies, and for repealing so much of an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, as imposes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto.

WHEREAS taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, for the purpose of raising a revenue in his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, has been found by experience to occasion great uneasiness and disorders among his Majesty's faithful subjects, who may nevertheless be disposed to acknowledge the justice of contributing to the common defence of the empire, provided such contribution should be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of each respective colony, province, or plantation :

And whereas, in order as well to remove the said uneasinesses, and to quiet the minds of his Majesty's subjects, who may be disposed to return to their allegiance, as to restore the peace and welfare of all his Majesty's dominions, it is expedient to declare, that the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment, for the purpose of raising a revenue in any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations :

May it please your Majesty,

That it may be declared and enacted ; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by
and

and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this act, the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any of his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, or the West Indies, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony, province, or plantation, in which the same shall be respectively levied, in such manner as other duties collected by the authority of the respective general courts, or general assemblies, of such colonies, provinces, or plantations, are ordinarily paid and applied.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, so much of an act, made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intitled, "An act for the granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoa nuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthen ware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations," as imposes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or has relation to the said duty, be, and the same is hereby repealed.

A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America.

FOR the quieting and extinguishing of divers jealousies and apprehensions of danger to the liberties and rights, which have alarmed many of his Majesty's subjects in the colonies, provinces, and plantations of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and for a manifestation of the just and gracious purposes of his Majesty and his Parliament, to maintain and secure all his subjects in the clear and perfect enjoyment of their liberties and rights;

Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty from time to time, by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, to authorize and empower five able and sufficient persons, or any three of them, to treat, consult, and agree, with any body or bodies politic and corporate, or with any assembly or assemblies of men, or with any person or persons whatsoever, of and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances, existing, or supposed to exist, in the governments of any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively, or in the laws and statutes of this realm respecting the same; and of or concerning any aid or contribution to be furnished by any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively, for the common defence of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and of and concerning any other regulations, provisions, matters, and things necessary or convenient, for the honour of his Majesty, his Parliament, and the common good of all his subjects.

Provided also, and be it further enacted and declared, that no regulation, provision, matter, or thing so proposed, treated, consulted, or agreed, shall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution, than is herein after mentioned and provided, until the same shall have been confirmed by Parliament.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in order to facilitate the good purposes of this act, his Majesty may lawfully enable the said commissioners, or any three of them, from time to time, to order and proclaim a cessation of hostilities, on the part of his Majesty's forces by sea or land, for any time, and under any conditions of restrictions, and such order and proclamation to revoke and annul, in the same manner and form.

And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by such letters patent as aforesaid, to authorize and empower the said commissioners, or any three of them, by proclamation under their respective hands and seals, from time to time, to suspend the operation and effect of a certain act of Parliament, made and passed in the sixteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for prohibiting all trade and intercourse with certain colonies and plantations therein named, and for the other purposes therein also mentioned, or any of the provisions or restrictions therein contained, specifying, in such proclamation, at what times and places respectively

tively, and with what exceptions and restrictions, the said suspension shall take effect; and the said suspension and proclamation, in the same manner and form to annul and revoke.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by such letters patent as aforesaid, to authorize and empower the said commissioners, or any three of them, to suspend, in any places, and for any times during the continuance of this act, the operation and effect of any act or acts of Parliament which have passed since the tenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, and which relate to any of his Majesty's said colonies, provinces, or plantations in North America, so far as the same doth relate to them, or the operation and effect of any clause, or any provision or matter therein contained, so far as such clauses, provisions, or matters, relate to any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations.

And it is hereby enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by such letters patent as aforesaid, to authorize and empower the said commissioners, or any three of them, and they are hereby authorized and empowered, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons within the said colonies, provinces, or plantations.

And, that no lett or hindrance may happen from the vacancy of the office of governor and commander in chief in any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively, or from the absence of such officer from government, be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by such letters patent as aforesaid, to authorize and empower the said commissioners, or any three of them, in any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively, wherein his Majesty hath usually heretofore nominated and appointed a governor, to nominate and appoint from time to time, by any instrument under their hands and seals, a proper person to be the governor and commander in chief in and for any such colony, province, or plantation, to have, hold, and exercise the said office of governor and commander in chief in and for such colony or plantation respectively, with all such powers and authorities as any governor of such province, heretofore appointed by his Majesty, might or could have exercised, in as full and ample manner and form as if such governor and commander in chief had been nominated and appointed by his Majesty's letters patent or commission; and for that purpose, if need be, to revoke, annul, and make void, any commission or letters patent heretofore

tofore granted for appointing any such governor or commander in chief.

And be it further enacted, that this act shall continue to be in force until the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

February 26.

No debate. Adjourned to March 2.

March 2.

*Sir Grey
Cooper.*

Sir Grey Cooper. I rise to move, that the bill for enabling his Majesty to appoint commissioners, &c. be now read a third time: but before I make that motion, I will, with the indulgence of the House, humbly offer my sentiments on the very important subject-matter of both the conciliatory bills.

Sir, it appears to me, that when the propositions which these bills contain shall be sent to America, and circulated through the revolted colonies, and when the terms which they offer shall be known, considered, and understood, they will, by degrees, induce every moderate man, and every man of property who is not too far embarked and engaged with the present governing powers, to consent to a treaty with the King's commissioners, on the ground of a dependence on Great Britain, and on conditions beneficial and advantageous to both countries.

The terror of taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain has been for some time past the great power and prevailing influence by which the leaders of the revolt have possessed and governed the minds of the people; and, in my humble opinion, this plan of peace, founded on such concessions, will tend more effectually to weaken the power, and to counteract the authority of those leaders, than any measures which could have been taken in the present state and circumstances of things. When the owners of land, the planters of tobacco and rice, the growers of corn, the breeders of cattle, the proprietors of houses and wharfs, know with certainty that they may not only have peace with Great Britain, but peace in perfect security, that they never shall in future be taxed, except by their own representatives, in their own general courts or assemblies; all such men will, all such men must, be disposed to consent to a re-union with, and dependence on Great Britain on such terms.

When they are recovered from the frenzy of fear which has so long distracted them, they will see, in its true light, the government under which they now live; instead of a federal republic, composed of free states, of which they dreamed, they will find and feel, when they are awake, the hard hand
and

and rigorous controul of an aristocratical government. It is in vain to impute blame to the rulers for this rigour and severity. Usurpation must be maintained by force: and if the mayor of New-York, and some of the best and most respectable citizens of that city, have been imprisoned in the most arbitrary manner, and tried and condemned, contrary to all legal forms; if the good people of Albany have been under persecution; if the Quakers have been banished for conscience sake; if every man who has continued faithful to his King and country; if every neutral and moderate man be surrounded by spies and informers; if their motions be watched, their steps counted, their letters opened, their houses entered, their papers seized, their persons imprisoned, without cause assigned, or charge exhibited; these are the necessary and inevitable consequences and effects of such a government.

When the people compare their present state and condition with that mild and equal government under which they lived, grew, prospered, and flourished, that recollection cannot pass over their minds without touching and reviving some of the affections and charities of former relation and connection, which, though covered and obscured, are not, I trust, obliterated by the present most unhappy animosities.

They will be at liberty to compare their dependence on Great Britain, on such terms, with an alliance with the court of France. To Great Britain they are united by religion, government, laws, language, habits, affection and relation. From Great Britain they derive their spirit and their love of liberty; and from the charters granted by the Kings of England, and the usage under those charters, which is certainly the best interpretation of them, they derive those free constitutions, on which they justly set so high a value.

They must, when they are at liberty to make an election, be carried, by the irresistible impulses of the human heart, towards that country which they used to call their home.

An alliance of the British colonies with the French King, against their mother-country, is most unnatural, and can only be dictated by despair. The alliance of a high-spirited free people with a despotic government; the religion of the severest protestants, with a great, powerful, and ambitious catholic state; the plain and simple manner of the Americans, with the fashions, customs, and character of a high-polished and luxurious nation. The clay and the metal will not cohere. Misery may make men take up with strange companions for a time, but such connections cannot long subsist; and indeed we have seen, in point of fact and experience, that the manners and habits of the French and the Americans do

not accord better the more they know each other, as most of the French officers who served in General Washington's army, quitted that service before the close of the campaign.

But it is said, that it is now too late to offer these terms of peace to the revolted colonies, and that at this time no success can be expected from the commission to treat with them. Sir, it is my humble opinion (which perhaps at first sight may appear somewhat singular and refined) that these measures at this time have a fairer prospect of success, than they would have had at the beginning of the troubles. In the first conflict of their passions after the standard of revolt was set up, in the first fits of their resentment, they were perhaps more intractable and unmanageable, more animated against this country, more deaf to the call of reason, the feelings of nature, or the motives of interest, than they may be when the bills and the commission arrive in America.

They have suffered the distresses and calamities of war raging in their provinces, which I lament as much as any gentleman in this House, or in this kingdom; but which, in my conscience, I think the violent counsels of the leaders of independency have brought upon them. They have been put to feel the galling yoke of the government which they have chosen. They have had time to think. They have had *spatium requiemque furori*. But the great leading consideration is this: men, under the pressure of any real or imaginary grievance, submit with wonderful patience to every personal and domestic distress; they can see, without depression of spirit, their wives, their children, and all that are dear to them, without the comforts and even necessities of life. For where the greater malady is fixed, the lesser is scarce felt. But concession, and a redress of grievances, will restore them to a sense of feeling. When the mind is free, the body is delicate.

Such is the reasoning, and such are the conclusions upon which my hope of the success of these most arduous and important measures is formed. It is grounded also on the best information of the present state of the temper and turn of the minds of the people, which I have been able with some diligence to procure. I have conversed with many persons of knowledge and credit; I have read many letters conveying the opinions of intelligent writers on the subject; and though I am aware that all such intelligence ought to be received with great caution, and that it often comes to Great Britain discoloured by the prejudices through which it passes in the minds of the persons who speak or write on the present contest; yet I think I am justified in believing, from all

all the evidence taken together, that the ground is in many places prepared for the seed.

But it is said, that a great obstacle to the success of these measures still remains; for though it be granted, for argument's sake, that many men of property and moderate principles may be inclined to return to a dependence on Great Britain on such terms, will they be able to accomplish their wish, and to carry their inclination into effect?

It must be confessed (as was observed by an honourable gentleman [Governor Johnstone] on the second reading of the bills) that nothing but a pretty general consent of the community can bring the leaders to listen to any terms of accommodation with Great Britain. Sir, I own I entertain an idea, that the turn and temper of the minds of the majority of the people in the colonies, at this hour, somewhat resemble those of the people of England just before the Restoration. When the reins of government fell from the weak hands of Richard Cromwell, and when Fleetwood and Desborough, with the Rump Parliament, governed the kingdom, the Presbyterians joined with the Royalists against the dominion of the Independents, and the tyranny of the army. When Monk moved from Scotland, nineteen men of property out of twenty wished for the restoration of the old government. At the head of his veteran forces he called a free Parliament, after he had extinguished the power of Fleetwood and his officers. Monk did not force the nation to recall the royal family; he did nothing more than with great management and address conduct and support the inclination and wishes of the community. When the gracious declaration from Breda was circulated through the nation, and the King's letter to the Commons was delivered by Mr. Grenville, and read in the House, the whole country started into action, and the restoration was brought about with a rapidity and effect perfectly inconceivable some months before: and when the King arrived at Canterbury, and was received with such acclamations of joy and expressions of affection, he asked where all the men had lived who had done so much mischief?

It will be answered, and cannot but be admitted, that there are many circumstances in the two cases dissimilar; but I hope and trust, that, with respect to the inclination and wishes of the people at both the periods, the resemblance will be found to be strong. But be that as it may, and whatever be the event, I shall ever think, that the measures

which these bills are calculated to carry into execution, will and ought to do great honour to the noble Lord who proposed them to Parliament.

Earl Nugent.

Earl Nugent said, he wished the Americans joy of their new charter; and added, that in the bills coming on, he hoped the House would be unanimous; for, in his opinion, that was the only thing that could save this nation.

Lord North.

Lord North moved, that the bill declaring the intentions of Parliament relative to taxing America be read a third time.

Mr. Walter Spencer Stanhope.

Mr. Walter Spencer Stanhope. The awe and embarrassment which oppresses every attempt of mine to speak in this House, and which I feel particularly oppressive at this moment, is sufficient at all times to keep me silent. It has done so through the course of this session hitherto, and would do so now, but that after a regular attendance during every stage of the progress of a bill, unexpected, important, as the present, were I now, at the third reading, to let it pass without saying a few words upon the subject, it would be, in my opinion, for ever to close my lips in this House, and *de pedibus ire in sententiam*, as long as I may have the honour to sit in it for the future. Sir, the noble Lord, on his first introduction of the bills now before you to your consideration, did very candidly, and with great propriety, call for the clear, unbiassed, well-considered opinion of every member in the House. It is my purpose, Sir, to give what I do assure him is an unbiassed and well-considered opinion. I will endeavour to make it as clear as I can, and as short. With respect to the time when it has been thought expedient to bring these propositions before the House, I shall say very little. It is impossible for a private individual, without more adequate means of information, without a possibility of forming a comprehensive and complete judgment upon the subject, to decide with justice upon it now. If it should in future appear that the golden opportunity has been suffered to escape, causelessly to escape, and by the shameful delay of two or three weeks only; then, Sir, it will, it must, become matter of highly criminal inspection, and of solemn judicial enquiry, hereafter. At the present, therefore, I forbear to give any opinion upon it; for, late as this measure certainly was brought in, when it did come, it was introduced by a speech from the noble Lord, that breathed such a spirit of candour, and glowed with such a fervency of expression; he shewed, in a situation certainly somewhat awkward and embarrassing,

such

such earnestness of mind, and sincerity of heart, to effect the good work of peace; his concessions were so ample, his plan was so promising, that I own, for once, I wished him heartily success. I was willing to hope the time was not yet too late, the opportunity not yet past; I wished no advantage in debate might be taken of any unguarded expression, any imprudent declaration, he might in the honest warmth of his discourse have incautiously hazarded: for such there undoubtedly were: as, "That taxation was at no time, in his opinion, an object worth fighting for; that the Congress, in 1774, made claims totally inconsistent with any dependence whatsoever upon this government; when, in 1775, he sent over only 5000 men to encounter a claim so hostile and alarming." These were imprudent and unwise assertions; but I wished them to pass unnoticed, when I heard him state, as the first part of his plan (though the bill stands second in the order of the day) "That in order to induce the colonies to treat concerning the repeal of acts of Parliament, when, by the very act of treating, they must, by way of preliminary, and virtually, at least, renounce the independence they have asserted, it would be necessary to assure to them some previous and considerable advantage, by way of equivalent; therefore taxation for the future should be renounced." And here, that I may not have occasion to recur to it hereafter, I must fairly say, that the bill for the relinquishment of taxation is perfectly consonant, not only to the letter, but to the spirit of what the noble Lord then advanced. The ambiguous expression of the "exercise of the right of taxation," has been struck out, the immunity has been extended to the West-Indies, and a clause has been admitted to repeal the tea act.

I am extremely sorry I cannot give the same commendation to the other bill. Let me recall to your recollection, Sir, the manner, and the ground upon which that was introduced by the noble Lord, as the subsequent part of his plan. He told us, "That on account of the distance of America from hence, of the want of any persons present here, who could consent on her part, and for a variety of other reasons, it was impossible the treaty could be negotiated in Parliament; therefore it became necessary to appoint commissioners, to be entrusted by Parliament with very ample and extensive powers, both with respect to persons and things, particularly with the very extraordinary power of suspending acts of the legislature: that for this measure, extraordinary as it was, a precedent was to be found; a similar power had been vested by

by Parliament in commissioners in the reign of Charles the Second." In this manner, Sir, was the bill upon your table first introduced to the House; and so introduced, I gave it my hearty vote and assent. Ought the vote I then gave to influence and direct my vote of this day? Should I be inconsistent in now disapproving this bill? Or is this bill no longer the same, either in its principle or provisions, as that for which I have already voted? This, Sir, is what I mean to examine; for I still think the measure, as it was first explained, a measure of wisdom; and have heard no arguments that have changed my opinion in that respect. I am not at all alarmed, either by the argument of a very learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] early in this business, who endeavoured to point out the pernicious consequence of allowing a suspension of the prohibitory bills, or by the forcible manner in which he endeavoured (as he expressed himself) to drive it out of the noble Lord by dint of reasoning; and if he failed in that, intreated him, upon his knees, again and again, to consider, before he allowed of such a power, before he admitted a possibility of the Americans pouring unmolested into the harbours of France and Spain, the collected produce of three successive harvests, the greatest part of which our frigates had blocked up in their warehouses. He was answered, that the acts of navigation would take place upon such a suspension, and those the commissioners would have no power to suspend. That answer, in my opinion, does not at all apply to the objection of the learned gentleman. The acts of navigation are, to all intents and purposes, at this moment suspended; and so they must remain, till peace is thoroughly re-established throughout America. Great Britain cannot perform the part she stipulates to perform by the acts of navigation. She has no officers in the respective ports of America to grant the clearances, permits, or those papers, by whatever name they are called, without which she expects no American vessel to navigate the seas. How then is it possible, in justice, or in common sense, to expect that America should perform the part required of her by those acts, or submit to the alternative of paying you a heavy penalty for sailing without those papers, which it is impossible for her to procure, which it is not in your power to furnish her with? But was the objection ever so well-founded, or ever so alarming, there is one short answer to it; that the power of suspending the prohibitory acts, that is, of declaring a suspension of arms by sea, ap-

pears to be absolutely necessary for the purpose of bringing on any treaty at all, or even any conference about a treaty. Not, Sir, that I think there is the smallest reason to be alarmed at the effects of such a suspension. The commissioners may grant it upon condition; though I own my opinion is, that they will be obliged to grant it without any condition at all. But at first it will undoubtedly be only for a very short time, much too short for the evil consequences to ensue which the honourable gentleman seems so much afraid of. Indeed the commission itself cannot take up any great length of time; and, in all probability, the gentlemen will be able to judge, almost to a certainty, of the event of their negotiation, in a very few days after their landing.

Another objection was just hinted, with much appearance of delicacy, by a right honourable gentleman, of great and approved talents for foreign negotiation. [Hans Stanley.] But, Sir, so far from bearing hard against the bill, it is, if any thing, an argument in favour of it. It was this; that if once we admitted the independence of America, so far as to commence a treaty with her as such, what reason could we give why France or Spain should not do the same? And was it not highly probable they would? Sir, if we are so thoroughly exhausted and debilitated, if our strength is wasted so much away, and our spirit bowed so very low, as to crouch and humble at the power of France, and meanly acquiesce in her insults and encroachments; in that case, Sir, the idea of the right honourable gentleman may serve us for a miserable pretext to hide our weakness and our shame. But if we have ought of our former vigour left, or a spark of our ancient enmity remaining, such a flimsy pretence, I am sure, will never divert the resentment, or for a single moment suspend the vengeance that haughty power deserves but too abundantly at our hands.

Another right honourable gentleman [Welbore Ellis] objected very roundly to the bill, because he thought it did in effect give substantial independence to America. So far, Sir, I shall agree with him, that the terms this bill holds out are so near independence, that, tho' certainly much less disadvantageous to this country, the difference between them is not worth fighting for; most indubitably much less worth fighting for than taxation was; and the noble Lord has lately found out, that he never thought that an object worthy the contest. This, Sir, however, can be no argument with me, who hold, that, heavy, and almost intolerable, as the loss of America must

must be, it is less destructive totally to relinquish, if we cannot by treaty regain, our right to that of which we have been unable to retain the possession, than to devote what remains of the empire, than desperately to risque the very existence of this country and our happy constitution, upon the wild, absurd, and hopeless attempt to subdue by arms the whole continent of North America. With respect to the effect of these concessions producing all but a nominal independence to the colonies, that, Sir, I think, will very much depend upon the manner in which the continental paper-money shall be funded; for funded it must certainly be, if the collection of the taxes to be levied for providing the interest of such funds is entrusted to the hands of the crown. On the crown the Americans will still remain dependent. The old policy of King William, the present policy of the Nabob of Arcot, will be renewed across the Atlantic; all the monied men there will be interested to support the funds, and the government who have the management of those funds. And then the high tone of prerogative and supremacy will cease there, as it has done here, and in its room the milder voice of influence will be heard and attended to; it will be more peaceable and persuasive, but as effectual and productive to the full.

Having gone through these objections, and attempted to shew why my opinion is not affected by them, I recur to the question: Is this bill, either in the letter or the spirit of it, conformable to what the noble Lord gave us to expect, when he first introduced his propositions? He quoted a precedent in the reign of Charles the Second. I have examined that precedent. The act is the 19th of that prince, cap. 13. It was made with a view to bring about an union with Scotland, and enacts, "That twelve commissioners be appointed, with full power and authority to suspend, &c. according to their discretion." In conformity with this precedent, the noble Lord brought in his bill, which runs, "That commissioners be appointed, with full powers to agree, to treat, to suspend, and to pardon, according to their wisdom and discretion." In this shape the bill was committed; but in that committee it has been so materially changed in its clauses, so fundamentally altered in its principle, that I do not hesitate to pronounce every man perfectly free of the charge of inconsistency, who, having voted for this bill at the outset, shall reject it now, as no longer what it then pretended to be; nay, there is but one possible reason upon which

which I should think myself justified in consenting this day that the bill should pass, and that is, that I have it not in my power to amend it; and, imperfect as it is, it is better than no bill at all. But let us examine the alterations that have been made. They were introduced by a learned gentleman [The Attorney General] without any argument, and with but one very short observation, which had more the air of a *dictum* from the bench, than that of free discussion which is usual in committees. All he said was, that it was thought necessary to make the amendments that were made, lest the clauses, as they stood before, should interfere with the instructions under which the commissioners were to act. It was not shewn wherein the clauses might interfere, or whether their interference, if any there might be, would be prejudicial to the purposes of the bill or not; but, simply and shortly, that it was thought necessary to make them. The necessity of so doing has not been demonstrated to me; and so far from being able myself to discover it, I can see innumerable reasons against it. What is it that gives occasion for this bill in the first instance, that makes it expedient to entrust to commissioners the high and dangerous power of suspending acts of Parliament? Is it not the pressure of the time, the vast distance of America from hence, the complicated nature of the acts she complains of, that can alone justify the law we are now passing, that suggests to us it is better to hear before we determine, to suspend rather than repeal, and to delegate that power of suspension to the wisdom and discretion of commissioners upon the spot, rather than blindly to exert it in the ordinary course of legislation here? To this purpose was the precedent adduced; to this it is strictly in point; and as strictly and absolutely decisive against the alterations made in the committee. The act of Charles the Second appoints commissioners with full powers to suspend certain acts and clauses of acts of Parliament even here in England, at no greater distance than Newcastle, or Berwick upon Tweed. Is not the argument then incomparably stronger in this case, where the place of treaty is to be in America, across three thousand miles of ocean? Yet, notwithstanding this precedent was produced by the noble Lord himself; notwithstanding the ground upon which the whole bill is founded is, that plenipotentiaries upon the spot will be better able to judge what is fitting to be done than Parliament, or any other persons who are not upon the spot; notwithstanding this, the committee have thought proper to expunge every word in the bill that extended to give a discretionary power to the commissioners, without which the bill

becomes, in my opinion, absolutely waste paper: and as it now stands, it is solely to vest in his Majesty's ministers a suspending power out of Parliament, and that the form of it shall be by way of instructions to commissioners, instead of the usual mode, by bill in the two Houses. This is a thing for which no precedent has been, or can be, produced; it is directly in the teeth of the precedent produced by the mover of the bill; and will itself form a new one, of a more alarming and destructive tendency, than all that any violent or despotic minister has yet been able to warp to an evil purpose. Why are we to do this? Why are we to trust nothing to the discretion of the commissioners who are to go to America, and repose unlimited confidence in the superior wisdom and discretion of the ministers, who are to remain here? Have we hitherto found their wisdom so preventive, their foresight so intuitive, or their information so infallible, as to prefer their bare conjecture at this distance, to the actual observation of those who will be upon the spot? But further, Sir: It should seem as if this demand which is now made to Parliament, to delegate their own essential and peculiar rights; questionable as it is with respect to their power constitutionally to do it; highly disagreeable, and to be justified only by the most extreme necessity, as the exercise of so delicate a power, supposing them to have it, must be: it should seem, I say, as if what is now required was not sufficiently unpalatable in itself, but that peculiar pains had been taken to render it still more disgusting. We are neither permitted to have the nomination of the commissioners, which, I think, would have been highly proper, nor are even thought worthy to be told the names of those whom we are about to invest with an authority greater than the sovereign himself possesses. Yet this authority, under these circumstances, am I willing to give them; because I hold it to be indispensably necessary they should have it. But if it be so indispensably necessary, ought not only to be willing to give it them, but absolutely certain they should have it. Can I say, as the bill now stands, that I am certain of that? Do I not know it is liable to be fettered by restrictions I have not consented to, and mutilated by instructions I may never see; nay, which I presume I never shall see? For those who could refuse us a sight of the instructions to Lord and General Howe, without even the slightest pretence of a reason for so doing, will undoubtedly be equally unwilling to indulge us with a sight of these, even after the event of the commission shall have been determined; as was the case when those former instructions were moved for and refused. And yet I was told by a leader
of

of that majority who refused me so much as a sight of those instructions, that there was a constitutional remedy to resort to in this case; that the ministers stood answerable for the instructions they gave; responsibility rested, as it ought to do, with them, as principals, and not with the commissioners acting under their directions. Sir, in the pure and virtuous times of the republic, when Rome was Rome, I know that there was really a power in the state, that could make ministers feel and tremble for their responsibility. I have read of ministers that have lost their heads, on account of the civil troubles their oppressive government has occasioned. But in these days, with Parliaments so constituted, with the power of the purse so unlimited, when the very individuals that blame and condemn ministers without doors, support and vote for them within, to talk to me of the responsibility of a minister, is a mockery and insult to my understanding; and I should pay as much attention to a grave dissertation on the enforcement of knight's-service, or the legality of ship-money, or any other obsolete question, as to an argument founded on the responsibility of ministers.

Sir, the more I consider the reasons I have urged, the more I am convinced the bill ought not to have been altered in the committee in the manner it has been; but yet, changed and mangled as it now is, and ineffectual as I much fear it will prove, I am not ripe to give my voice against it; I dare not do it. I dare not reject any attempts, however feeble and unpromising, that have peace with America for their object, particularly this, which is the first symptom of a change in that distempered and fatal system which has reduced us to our present miserable condition. I shall rejoice exceedingly to find that that reason has the same weight with other gentlemen it has with me; and that, disapproving, and despairing of good from the present, they will yet forbear to give it any violent opposition, and suffer it to pass at least without a division.

I have now, Sir, finished what I wished to say upon this question. But yet I cannot sit down without observing how very extraordinary it is, that the Secretary for the American department, the great efficient officer to give effect to these bills, has thought proper to observe the most profound silence concerning them, though he has constantly attended every stage of their discussion. I stile it only extraordinary at present; because I trust he has reserved himself till this day, to give his opinion at large upon them. But should he persist in his taciturnity, and cautiously shelter himself under a reserve he may deem as prudent as it is mysterious, his conduct will surely then be highly disrespectful

and indecent to this House. What ! shall we trust the correspondence with the commissioners, the instructions to be signed, the principal direction of this great work of conciliation, to a man, whose sentiments, the last at least he has thought proper to declare upon the subject here, were, that he would sooner cut off his right hand than sign a treaty with rebels with arms in their hands ? Has he changed his opinion in that respect, or does he hold this House too cheap to tell them whether he has or not ? I cannot persuade myself, Sir, that this can be the case ; and therefore all I have further to say is, that if it were in my power, it is by no means my intention, to force the noble Lord to get up so early in the day. I am too conscious, that when the great leaders in this House take any early part in any debate, they illustrate the question with such pointed argument, they illuminate it with such brilliant eloquence, that it is impossible for any young and unexperienced member to attempt to get up after them. Happy for such it is, if they can catch a moment before the attention of the House has been too long tried, or the question too much exhausted ! they will then find that patient indulgence with which I have been honoured this day. No one, I fear, could deserve it less ; none, I am sure, can be more grateful for it.

Mr. Moreton
speaks.

Mr. Moreton ironically congratulated Lord North upon the cordial assistance he had received from his new allies. But said, the taxation bill could not pass into a law, without a new constitution in America ; because the subjects of Great Britain, wherever they are, are taxable by the Parliament of Great Britain, whose power has no bounds. If the Americans are not taxable, he desired any lawyer or politician would shew him by what law they were exempted ; and if they are not exempted by any law, he desired the gentlemen of the learned profession to which he had the honour to belong would tell him whether they were exempted by the prerogative of the crown ; and if so, whether it was in any of their charters. He knew of but one, Maryland ; and the man who put the seal to that charter ought to have been impeached. If they were not exempted, either by law or the King's prerogative, they still remained taxable ; unless some gentlemen did suppose Parliament had lost its right of taxing them, by non-usage. He dreaded therefore the consequence of this measure even more than the doctrine. Then went into a long state of the danger of raising money in America by requisitions from the crown ; by which revenue, so raised, the King might be enabled to govern this country without Parliaments. Next he went into an enquiry,

quiry, what could give rise to this sudden conversion, that in all ages and countries was commonly attended with some material communications or visitations, such as, they met somebody on the road, or going into the city, who had illuminated their understandings. That as none such had come to him, he must remain in his old opinion, unconverted.

Mr. Dundas [Lord Advocate] said, while he thought it Mr. Dundas. was practicable to tax America, he was always for it. But when General Howe was obliged to leave Jersey, he began to entertain doubts of its success; and the misfortune to General Burgoyne afterwards was experience sufficient, and warranted him in saying, that the taxation of America by the British Parliament had been found to be impracticable. No miraculous illumination could ever persuade him that government should attempt impracticable things. If we are not able to subdue America by force, we must mix with our measures something that may lead to conciliation.

Mr. Gilbert, after expressing his concern that the affairs Mr. Gilbert. of the public were greatly neglected, and that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the public money, particularly into the exorbitant contracts and abuses of office, and the exorbitancy of office fees; he declared his resolution, the first time Lord North went into the ways and means, to propose a tax of one fourth upon the incomes of all placemen.

Mr. Wilkes. I have not given the least opposition to the pro- Mr. Wilkes. gress of either of the conciliatory bills, which have been brought into this House by administration. I thought it the part of candour to acquiesce, to suffer the bills to go through the committee without interruption, and to receive every improvement, which the noble Lord with the blue ribband [Lord North] who first introduced them among us, or any of his friends on the other side of the House, chose to suggest or adopt. We are now, Sir, in possession of a plan, with much care revised and corrected by the ostensible minister here, in the full expectation of its being equally pleasing and palatable on both sides the Atlantic as well as this House. The great outlines indeed, Sir, opposition must approve, for they are undoubtedly their own. They were long ago traced out by themselves, although the spirit of them now is gone. Other means than those of coercion have been long steadily urged. The noble Lord with the blue ribband has as liberally borrowed their ideas as the Chancellor of the exchequer means to borrow their money on Friday, when he opens the budget. The gentlemen on this side the House have frequently proposed a revision of all the acts complained of by our
American

American brethren. Above three years ago a parliamentary revival of those statutes was warmly pressed on the minister, and it is not three months since I had the honour of submitting to the House a motion for the repeal of those very acts, which, in a less constitutional mode, commissioners are now to be authorized to suspend. I made that motion, Sir, while America was still free to negotiate, still free from all foreign treaties, or solemn engagements, as independent states, with any of the great powers of Europe. There is scarcely an idea in either of the two acts, for gentlemen seem to agree to consider them together, which has not been suggested by opposition. The “cessation of hostilities on the part of his Majesty’s forces by sea and land;” “the granting a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons within the said colonies, provinces, or plantations;” “the treating, consulting, and agreeing with any body, or bodies, politic and corporate, or with any assembly, or assemblies of men, or with any person, or persons whatsoever, of or concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances existing or supposed to exist in the government of any of the said colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively, or in the laws and statutes of this realm respecting the same;” “the treating of any aid or contribution to be furnished by any of the colonies, provinces, or plantations respectively;” “the not imposing any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any of his Majesty’s colonies, provinces, and plantations in North-America, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce;” all these important considerations have been repeatedly urged to the minister, while the sword still slept in the scabbard, before the late deluge of the blood of the subjects of this empire in an unjust and unnatural war. At last more is offered than was asked. A repeal of all the obnoxious acts since the year 1763 only was proposed. The minister now agrees to sacrifice the statutes of almost another entire year, for he gives up all the acts since the 10th of February 1763, the infamous æra of the peace of Paris, by which the most valuable conquests of a glorious war were sacrificed. Whence can such a change arise?

I observe, Sir, that several gentlemen have this day mentioned their conversion, the æra and cause. A very learned advocate [H. Dundas, Esq. Lord Advocate for Scotland] has said that he was converted when Sir William Howe was forced to retire from the Jerseys. Another honourable gentleman [Charles Baldwyn, Esq.] tells us, that he was converted when General Burgoyne capitulated at Saratoga. Washington and Gates,

Gates, Sir, are certainly very powerful apostles. I should not be surpris'd, if General Howe himself was at last converted. I believe the æra of the noble Lord's conversion is not far distant. I suspect it happened at the successful moment of the late American negotiation in France, which I greatly fear has established their independence. It is impossible not to be charmed with the gentle, meek, supplicating, humiliating tone of the noble Lord at the present moment. We hear no more of the vengeance of the state against daring rebels. The harsh discord of war no longer grates on our ears. Peace, harmony, reconciliation with our brethren, are the enchanting sounds, with which we are now ravished. The terrible exterminating minister of wrath no longer alarms the revolted colonists with *Quos ego*. The noble Lord, with no less policy than pity, soothes them, and in mild accents says, *motus præstat componere fluctus*. I much fear however, Sir, the colonies will never be gathered together again under his ministerial wing.

The two conciliatory bills are, in my opinion, more calculated for this country than America. They appear only meant to quiet the minds of the people here, and to amuse this kingdom, not to regain the colonies; but I trust the day of reckoning, and of exemplary punishment, approaches. The present dead calm forebodes a furious tempest. The bills hold out what ministers know to be a fallacious hope, a reconciliation with the colonists on terms short of independence. The object is merely to screen ministry from the indignation of the public, and the vengeance of the people. There can be little doubt of this, when the very words of the acts, in the state they first appeared here, are considered. The preamble of one of the acts was, "Whereas the exercise of the right of taxation by the Parliament of Great-Britain for the purpose of raising a revenue in his Majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North-America, has been found by experience to occasion great uneasinesses and disorders and has by sundry misrepresentations been made the means of misleading many of his Majesty's faithful subjects." These words are a kind of second declaratory act, in which the right of taxation is asserted at the instant you give commissioners powers to suspend it. Was this meant as a healing measure? Could ministers really intend to confer a favour, as they affected to think, and yet chuse the most offensive, the most obnoxious, the most galling expressions? The preamble to the other conciliatory bill is liable to the same strong objection. It is, "for the quieting and extinguishing of divers jealousies and misrepresentations of danger to their liberties and legal

gal rights, which have misled many of his Majesty's subjects in the colonies, provinces, &c." Must not such expressions be necessarily considered by the Congress as the language of high and direct insult? The commissioners must derive all their powers from these two acts of the legislature, in which the Americans were accused and upbraided. Are these the winning, persuasive arts of peace and reconciliation? Was a reconciliation really intended, or have ministers only in view to delude the nation, and to incense them against the Americans, with the absurd hope of at last compelling them to an unconditional submission?

Administration, Sir, thought the game desperate, and had only in view their own safety, the preservation of their power, and perhaps a facility in the ensuing loan. They knew the solemn declarations of the Congress to some of the greatest powers of Europe so early as December 1776, and confirmed last November, the basis of which rested solely on their independence. They possess it *de facto*. I fear we shall be obliged to give it them *de jure*. If the present propositions are rejected, we cannot hesitate in preferring the acknowledgement of their independence to an expensive and bloody war, in which at last conquest is admitted to be an impossible and frantic attempt. We ought to enter into a foederal union with them, and endeavour to secure the advantages of the most important trade with America by a commercial treaty, which would be reciprocally advantageous to both countries. Unless indeed the eloquence of our commissioners can effect what the force of our arms has in vain attempted, their relinquishing the claim of independence. The administration are perfectly acquainted with the various commercial engagements of the colonists, from which they cannot recede. It appeared likewise that the military as well as the civil have concurred in reprobating every idea of a dependence on this country. The sceptre of America is departed from Britain. Three months after the British army had taken their capital, the seat of the Congress, Philadelphia, Washington gave it out in general orders from head quarters, December 17th, "We may on the best grounds conclude, that by a spirited continuance in the measures necessary for our defence, we shall finally obtain the end of our warfare, independence, liberty, and peace." In October 1774, the Congress humbly supplicated his Majesty for peace, liberty, and safety. Since that period safety had been secured to them by their own prowess, except indeed on some parts of their very extensive coast. They had since been driven into independence, and began to taste its sweets. We had cancelled all the ties by which

which the two countries had long held together, and since we had forced them into a very reluctant warfare, they held to the people and the army, as its great end, the manly language of independence, liberty, and peace, America was driven to desperation. It is now as to us a bosom friendship soured to an implacable hatred. We have wantonly burnt her towns, butchered her men, women, children, even infants at the breast, massacred the captives in cold blood, scalped the dying and wounded, and carried fire and sword through her most fertile provinces. What a contrast has their conduct been to a whole British army, and general, who capitulated ! What a nobleness in turning away from the humiliating spectacle of English Soldiers piling their arms by word of command from their own officers ! Are our ministers weak enough to expect to cajole America with a parchment act, at the moment they declare that they despair of conquest by the sword ? The idea must to them be perfectly ridiculous, when the Americans recollect that the noble Lord with the blue ribband at the beginning of the war had prophesied that they would be soon at our feet, and the noble Lord at the head of the American department, had insisted on unconditional submission. The Americans had now tried their strength and found their resources, both on their own continent and in Europe, adequate to all their views. They saw the world in admiration, of their firmness and fortitude, in the warmest applause even of the military achievements. The zeal of the French nation in their cause rose to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and even this island might say to America, in the words of Horace, "*te cede gaudentes Britannii compositis venerantur armis.*"

The honourable gentleman, [Sir Grey Cooper, bart.] Sir, who made you the motion for the third reading of the bill, says, the Americans will see, "that we do not mean to tax them." They have no confidence, Sir, in any of our professions or promises. The act of parliament of the session, or the secretary's official letter, they hold in equal contempt. In 1765, there was so great a stagnation of our commerce in consequence of the stamp act, that in the following year that unjust, as well as uncommercial act, was repealed, and all the sources of trade between Great-Britain and her colonies were again opened, and flowed in full abundance. Notwithstanding this, in the very next year, duties to be paid in America were imposed on tea, glass, paper and other articles, which threw the whole empire again into convulsions. America saw that we were not to be confided in during the short period of a single year, and that no tie, even of our own interest,

terest, could bind us to any terms of future security for them. It is impossible, without the highest indignation, to reflect from what a height of prosperity we are now fallen, into an abyss of misery and ruin. The dispositions of America in 1766 were most friendly and affectionate. The wise measure of the repeal of the stamp act diffused universal joy thro' the thirteen now revolted colonies. At Philadelphia, in May, 1766, they unanimously came to the following generous resolution, "that to demonstrate our zeal to Great-Britain, and our gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, each of us will, on the fourth of June next, being the birth-day of our most gracious sovereign George the Third, dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give what home spun we have to the poor." What were the unanimous resolutions of the Congress, not ten years after, in the very same town? Our enemies have published them to the world with mockery and triumph. With what perfidy has the province of the Jerseys been treated! When that province returned to its allegiance, was it restored to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security, as if it had never revolted? Or did that province continue under the *ban* of the empire, as a lucrative job to the friends of the minister? Yet the minister, in the King's name, at the opening of the session of Parliament in October 1775, solemnly held out such promises to the Americans. It is impossible the colonists can have any confidence in such ministers, or their agents or commissioners; and unless men, as well as measures, are changed, no permanent reconciliation can be effected. Our perfidy may indeed possibly be retaliated upon us in a mock treaty, and a delusive negotiation, but no stable, solid peace can be obtained by the authors of their grievances.

The ear of England, Sir, is rankly abused by ministers, who pretend to assure us of pacific dispositions in the colonies, and a desire to return to their dependence on the parent state, when not the least symptom of such a nature has appeared. Has the Congress, or any one colony, made the least overture to a reconciliation, since their declaration of independence? Have not the Americans expressed the utmost abhorrence of the ministers who are to nominate the commissioners, instead of a disposition to treat with them? And will they entertain a more favourable idea of their creatures? I must declare that I see nothing in the intended negotiation, but disgrace and humiliation on our part, after our repeated injuries, and a lucrative job for five bold hungry dependents of the minister. Would to God, Sir, I may be mistaken, and that

the commissioners may return to Europe with unenvied wealth and bloodless laurels. Their grateful country will honour them to its latest posterity. Their fame will be immortal.

An honourable gentleman, [Edmund Burke, Esq.] one of the greatest ornaments of this House, says, that he observes great benevolence among us towards the Americans. I heartily wish that I could discover it. Among three sets of gentlemen, which have been mentioned this day, I fear the Americans have very few friends. All the dependents of administration, the large majority in this House, who have voted all the cruel and oppressive acts now to be suspended, have certainly no great benevolence towards the Americans. Those who are accustomed to pace in the trammels of a despotic minister, and to be obedient to his sovereign nod, naturally abhor the enthusiast for liberty, the uncontrolled spirit of the sons of freedom. I suspect likewise that there is not much good will towards our fellow subjects in the colonies, among the inhabitants in the northern parts of our own island. It would be a curious speculation to investigate the causes of the marked hatred of the Scots in general to the Americans. Is it, Sir, that altho' some small parts of America are almost over-run with Tories, as others are with different destructive animals, yet there scarcely ever was found a single Jacobite in all our colonies? Are the Scots in despair, because they have not been able to find any thing in North-America congenial with them? They cannot there mingle treason with treason. Is it that believing the present resistance in the colonies to partake of the nature of a true rebellion, they are jealous of such an usurpation of the Americans on their peculiar prerogative? Scotland seems, indeed, the natural *foyer* of rebellion, as *Ægypt* is of the plague; but, Sir, no monopolies in this commercial country are permitted. Manchester and Liverpool would oppose such a monopoly, and justly claim no small share in it, from their vigorous efforts in favour of the Pretender in 1743. It will, Sir, be a new and curious spectacle in 1778, to mark the north pouring forth her hardy sons to quell an American, not to aid a native, rebellion, carefully nursed in her frozen bosom, and afterwards in a tainted part of England, kindly tendered and fostered in its progress to the south. The third set of persons lately mentioned, are the country gentlemen. I respect the character, but I fear many of them are hostile to America, and American rights. They are for the most part very steady, not burdened or perplexed with many ideas, and perhaps with few of very liberal nature. A single principle appears of late to have governed them. They hoped to throw off from their shoulders on

the poor Americans a considerable part of the enormous burdens, under which they groan, of the debts of their late adopted German, and the present American, war. The noble Lord with the blue ribband had assured them of a solid and substantial revenue from America. On this plan of private economy to them, the minister bargained for their support. Their disappointment, and the sense of his jockeyship, has undoubtedly much chagrined them, but I will not dwell on this subject. Their eyes seem to be opening, just as they are drowning.

Another honourable gentleman [Thomas Gilbert, Esq.] complains that every thing respecting the public is in a great degree neglected, and that some of our most important concerns are scarcely regarded. He has accordingly, with much good sense, held out to the House the idea of a committee to examine into the expenditure of the public money during this war. I agree with him, that nothing is now secure, or indeed properly taken care of, except the protestant succession. His proposal meets my full and warm approbation. Another committee, however, seems to me still more immediately necessary, a committee to enquire into the nature and causes of the failure of the Canadian expedition, for we cannot hide the nation's scar. I am sorry to be informed that the House is to be prorogued at Easter, for I fear we cannot in this session undertake both these important concerns. The inquiry into the Canadian expedition, the loss of a British army, and the horrid cruelties committed on our fellow subjects, is of the first importance, both to vindicate the honour of our sovereign, and the humanity of the nation. I am shocked, Sir, at the false rumours daily spread, and the foul reproaches cast on the common father of all his people. It is repeatedly circulated in print, Sir, that on the 17th of October, after Burgoyne's capitulation, in which Gates demonstrated a refined delicacy of honour, unparalleled in European armies, the British General was received with respect, and dined with the American hero; that nothing unkind was said to him, except asking, how he could find in his heart to burn the poor country people's houses, wherever he passed, and that he answered, it was the King's orders. From all the letters of Burgoyne it has been repeatedly asserted, that the project of the Canadian expedition originated from the closet of the King, and the office of the American secretary; and that the employing the Savages against our fellow-subjects was among the primary ideas adopted on that occasion. The American secretary, in a letter to General Carleton, dated Whitehall, March 26, 1777, says, "As this plan cannot be advantageously executed

ted without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, his Majesty strongly recommends it to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men. And I am happy in knowing that your influence among them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil his Majesty's intentions." In the "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada, by General Burgoyne," which were approved by the King, Burgoyne desires a thousand or more savages. Colonel Butler was directed to distribute the King's bounty money among such of the savages as would join the army; and, after the delivery of the presents, he asks for 4011l. York currency, more, before he left Niagara. Burgoyne's barbarous proclamation appears now to be only a consequence, of his sanguinary instructions. General Gates's letters have informed the world with what savage ferocity and cruelty the Indians carried on a war, to which they were so strongly invited. An Indian campaign is known to be productive of every species of torture, to which the human frame is subject. In the last campaign scarcely fewer women and children in some parts where the war raged with the greatest fury, expired under the torture of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, than were killed by the sword and bayonet among those who bore arms. Colonel Butler's letter to Sir Guy Carleton of July 28th says, "many of the prisoners were, conformable to the Indian custom, afterwards killed." Has the secretary at war yet thanked the savages in the King's name for their alacrity? I have not had time fully to examine the numerous papers on our table, and therefore I am ignorant whether we have any letter from his Lordship similar to that from the war-office, of the 11th of May, 1768, "that having had the honour of mentioning to the King the behaviour of the detachments from the several tribes of Indians, which have lately been employed in the scalping and tomahawking his American subjects, he has great pleasure in informing the General that his Majesty highly approves of the conduct both of the Indian chiefs and the men, and means that his royal approbation should be communicated to them through the General. Employing Indians in such a service gives him [the humane secretary at war] pain, but it is necessary. He hopes they will continue to perform their duty with alacrity. Every possible regard shall be shewn to their zeal, and they shall have the protection of the law and this office under every disagreeable circumstance."

Mr. Burgoyne held himself out as an active agent on this occasion, not by the slightest mention of any supposed military talents, but by such an abject flattery of the American secretary,

as I hope no other man in Europe could commit. He declares in a letter to Lord George Germaine, dated from Hertford-street, Jan. 1, 1777, "I humbly laid myself at his Majesty's feet for such active employment as he might think me worthy of. This was the substance of my audience on my part. I undertook it, and I now report it to your Lordship, in the hope of your patronage in this pursuit. A hope, my Lord, founded not only upon a just sense of the honour your Lordship's friendship must reflect upon me, but also upon a feeling that I deserve it, in as much as a solid respect, and sincere personal attachment can constitute such a claim." In his letter of June 22, 1777, he seems to have fully entered into the ideas of his principal; for he says, "that he met the Indians yesterday in Congress, and gave them a war feast, according to their custom," of which war feast we know the most solemn ceremony to be drinking human blood out of the skulls of their enemies. In the same conference he consents to the mangling of the dead, for he says, he "allowed the Indians to take the scalps of the dead." Surely, Sir, an enquiry into those horrors, and the failure of an expedition, which has not only disgraced our arms, but obscured the name of Englishmen, and fixed a foul stain on our national character, is still more worthy of our enquiry than even the waste of public treasure, although we are, I fear, if the war continues, too near the brink of a general bankruptcy.

I observe, Sir, that gentlemen have this day been very fond of giving advice to ministers. I am not fond at any time of giving advice, but I will for once follow the example. My advice then, Sir, to administration is, to supplicate his Majesty to order an immediate cessation of arms in North-America, and to recall his forces. Humanity and justice call aloud for this measure. The minister has at length confessed, we cannot conquer America. To what purpose then are more torrents of blood to be shed? The Americans will accept, or they will reject, your propositions. If they are accepted, the war is at an end by concession. If they are rejected, the end of the war, conquest, has been found, and is now acknowledged to be, impracticable. The shedding of the blood therefore of a single man for an object, which confessedly cannot be obtained, is not only unjustifiable, but highly criminal. Many of the measures of opposition have been at length adopted by ministers. I hope this, the most important of all, will have the same success. An immediate cessation of arms was proposed the very first day of this session by an excellent young nobleman on this side the house. [Marquis of Granby.] It will do more than all your commissioners can
without

without it. Perhaps it may save Howe from the fate of Burgoyne. It will give time for cooling on both sides, and at least shew that you are relenting towards your brethren, that you are eager for that peace and reconciliation, which alone can form the solid happiness of both countries, and must be devoutly wished by every friend in each, to their mutual prosperity. It may save the fragments of this dismembered empire; for I own I shall tremble for the fate of Canada, nearly lost three years ago, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and the West-India islands, if the powerful confederacy of the thirteen united colonies continues.

Sir, I heartily wish success to these two conciliatory bills, and that we may regain by treaty, what we have lost by tyranny and arms. I would agree to almost any treaty, rather than continue this ruinous war, which has cost already above thirty millions sterling, and the loss of twenty thousand men. I entirely approve the effort, although I have my fears that it is made too late. *Sat benè si sat citò!* let the experiment however be tried, and may both Britain and America, again form one powerful empire, on the principles of equal liberty, just, mild, commercial, and tolerant! We shall then be able to stand the shock of all the adverse powers of the world, again be feared and respected abroad, and at home a great, united and happy people.

Sir George Yonge, proposed a rider, to declare, agreeable to the bill of rights, that any dispensing power in the Crown, was illegal; and that this bill should not be drawn into a precedent.

Mr. Thurlow [Attorney General] said, the proposed rider was unnecessary and might have imputations charged upon it that were hurtful. Was indifferent whether accepted or not; but thought it most prudent not to bring the matter into discussion.

The rider was withdrawn.

Upon the question being put, "that the bill do pass," Mr. Baker remarked, that a noble Lord at the head of the American department, who was to sign the instructions, and through whose hands, officially, the business of the treaty with America was to pass, had not deigned to say one word, whether he approved the measure or not; whether he had adopted as yet the ideas of peace, or still retained the spirit of war, and those principles of coercion, with which he came into office?

Lord George Germain said, that the noble Lord who had brought forward this measure, and had brought in the bills, had so fully, to all points, explained, that it was unnecessary for

for him to say the same things in much worse words. But, however, whenever called upon, he was very ready to give his approbation to the measure. That he did it on the exigency of the times, and upon the present circumstances of the case; upon the ground of expediency he heartily concurred in the measure.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* then arose; and by misunderstanding, or not perfectly comprehending, the noble Lord, called for some more explicit declaration of the sentiments of that minister, who was to give the business its form, and to sign the instructions.

Lord G. Germain. Lord *George Germain* then arose to explain himself farther, and said, I am clear to speak to the point of the constitution, in every sentiment which I ever held. What I said, as quoted by the gentleman, was said upon the then state of the case. But if circumstances are changed, so must measures change. What I then said I was justified in by the sense and concurrence of Parliament. The case is now changed; and what I now say, the exigencies of the present circumstances equally justify; and in which I see also I have the full concurrence of Parliament. There is no change of sentiment in me. What the case requires, and what the sense of Parliament adopts upon such case, it is my duty to follow, and I will execute with my best zeal, and to the utmost of my abilities. He then said, that although the honourable gentleman was perfectly versed in the forms of business and office, yet he was mistaken, in supposing that he, as Secretary for the American department, was to give the instructions, or to sign them; that it was indeed his duty to frame them, from the opinion of the council, and, so framed, to carry them to his Majesty; who, if he approved them, signed them, and also countersigned himself. That he said this only to set the gentleman right, as to the mode of doing business; he acknowledged, that by carrying them to the King, he became the person responsible for them, as well as by delivering them.

Mr. *Townshend* then rose to make general remarks on the merit in the conduct of opposition on the present occasion; and the question passed without a division.

END of the EIGHTH VOLUME.

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1	I	O	20	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	I	I	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	I	I	20	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	I	I	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	20	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	O	I	10	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	105	1	103	81	326	51	76	453	103	27	44	5	3	

W. H O W E.

of the Hoped at Pensylvan

Effective		With an		Effective	
nd fit for		tillery &		al Effective	
ach Brig.		public		employ	
Rank and File		Serjeants		Rank and File	
961		00		22	
		00		19	
				00	
				655	
				690	
				600	

Gunners	Matrosses	Fifers	Drummers
49	379	3	7

fit for Duty, }

W E.

Stat general, Dec. 14, 1777.

Effective		Total Effective		Wanting to complete.	
Preferior Duties.	With artillery public employ				
Serjeants	Serjeants	Drummers	Drummers	Serjeants	Drummers
68	89	25	725	0	5
64	55	19	691	3	7
35	41	47	725	1	17
66	7	44	615	0	4
		21	995	0	0
		16	374	0	0
		15	456	0	1

Captains	Lieutenants	Serjeants	Corporals	Matrosses	Fifers	Drummers
10	222	17	17	670	10	21

absence not incl
being provincial
The 0 coir flank Bank Battalion, are returned
nent.

eral, North America.

State and Lieutenant-General Sir October 1, 1777.

Total Wanting to
be complete.

Artillery.
Commis. Officers. Non Commis. Rank
and File, Drummers
Staff and Fifers.

	Drummers.	Rank and File.
British.		
22d,	4	0
35th,	5	90
38th,	6	67
43d,	7	0
45th,	3	70
52d,	5	97
54th,	2	9
57th,	6	29
	18	362
Foreign.		
Kochler	7	116
Prince	2	32
Trumb	1	49
Stein,	18	133
Wisse	0	133
Prince	1	69
Regime	9	14
Landgra	7	99
Dufurth	1	2
Huyne,	19	12
Bunau,	20	12
	55	671
Total	384	1033

	Captains	Lieutenants	Surgeons.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Fifers.	Drummers.
British	7	11	2	12	3	19	56	179	5	12
Foreign	4	2	1	14	9	2	1	225	0	4
Total	11	13	3	26	12	21	57	404	5	16

, Ant-General, North-America,

Drogheda, Master-General, for the

F I C E R S:

what Time. By whose Leave.

For what Time.

In England.

Camp to the Lord Lieutenant

September

November

September

}

Master General

{

Three Months

On Command

ing the Lord Lieutenant

, 20 Mattresses. Total 24.

Royal Artillery.

A True Copy.

Return of the Royal Irish Regiment

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